

ISRAEL LOOKS AT McGOVERN HERBERT KROSNEY

SEPTEMBER 4, 1972

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LABOR DAY, 1972:

George Meany's Last Hurrah

B. J. Widick

Labor Education: Need for Revival

William Goode

Organizing the Unorganized

Steve Murdock

Polynesian Seafaring by Edward Dodd

ALEXANDER LAING

LETTERS

billion-dollar boodlers

New York City

DEAR SIR: Your editorial, "Campaign '72—Next, the Issues" and *The Nation* throughout [Aug. 21] were especially commanding. Richard Kaufman's "The Dead Weight of Salt" again spotlighting the Pentagon's Pollution of the Public Purse (not Agnew's alliteration) is a desperately depressing reading experience. Wish he would prepare a paper for McGovern. These fellows are in fact the billion-dollar boodlers that need repetitively to be referred to as such.

Irving Caesar

fire-power morality

DEAR SIR: From his remarks at the Connally ranch April 30, it appeared that President Nixon did not rule out the possibility of bombing the dams and dikes of the Red River Delta. . . . Seyss-Inquart, the German High Commissioner in Holland, opened the dikes there in 1944, flooding 500,000 acres. This action was considered a war crime.

Even if President Nixon had not bombed the dams and dikes, 21 million bomb craters and millions of civilian casualties would seem to indicate that the United States has already done, by other means, many times more damage to the civilian population of Indochina than Seyss-Inquart could possibly have done to the people of Holland.

However, overwhelming fire power . . . can sometimes change fashions in morality. In 1944 Seyss-Inquart . . . didn't have enough fire power; so he was convicted as a war criminal and hanged at Nuremberg.

Today Vice President Agnew says that what the United States has done in Vietnam is "the most moral act the United States ever performed as a citizen of the world community." And Mr. Agnew is an honorable man. . . .

Clifford M. Turner

Lowenstein's friend from Madrid

Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: In 1959 Allard Lowenstein first came to Madrid to help me and my fellow Spanish Democratic students in our effort to organize the student resistance to the Franco dictatorship. . . . It was partly to help pay back my loyal friend, Al Lowenstein, that I came from Spain in June to help him win the Democratic nomination in Brooklyn's 14th Congressional District. After arriving I was given extra incentive when I discovered what a constant ally of the Franco regime his opponent, John Rooney, has been.

During my stay in Brooklyn, I canvassed more than 300 Puerto Rican families. All those interviewed were registered Democratic voters and belonged, consequently, to the tiny minority of the Puerto Rican community who believed in the United States enough to register. Almost all of these "conscious" Puerto Ricans were surprised that anyone speaking Spanish would come to their homes and talk to them about their hopes and problems. . . .

At first I was surprised by the hostility and suspicion of Puerto Ricans toward American politics. I couldn't understand why so few of them bothered to use the franchise which we Spanish Democrats have struggled so long to secure. But, on June 20, primary day, I witnessed Brooklyn democracy in action. Many of the Puerto Ricans whom I had canvassed tried to vote, and their attempts were frustrated. Some had received postcards from the Board of Elections telling them to go to the wrong polling place. Only a few of the election inspectors spoke any Spanish, so there was no one to assist those who were at the wrong, or even at the right, locations. Others were informed that their registration cards were missing and that to vote they would need a special affidavit from the Supreme Court of

(Continued on page 148)

EDITORIALS

Mean and Rigid

Sen George McGovern is being scolded rather widely these days for having professed to see some similarities between Hitler's government and the Nixon Administration. That is an excessively alarming view. Still, one must admit that the oppressive rules laid down by the burghers of the Republican convention did more to strengthen than to disprove McGovern's point. A much more accurate analogy, however, comes not from the Third Reich but from the Sixth Ward—using the pungent appraisal of NBC's John Chancellor: "At the Democratic conventions we have seen Mayor Daley pack the halls with Sixth Ward sewer workers. I think we have seen the Republican equivalent tonight."

Every night, and every day session, too, the atmosphere was the same: mean and rigid and overbearing. Invocation and benediction prayers had to be submitted to party officials for clearance two weeks before the convention opened. Dissent of any slightest significance was forbidden. So uptight was the convention on this point that Rep. Paul McCloskey was refused permission to arrange a twenty-five-minute anti-war speech. Only two amendments were permitted to be offered to the platform (no deficit spending, and more help for Indians) and only the latter was permitted to pass. Even before debate on the amendments began, the convention's temporary chairman, Ronald Reagan, snarled, "You'd better have made up your minds by now." The outcome of all issues was so predetermined that convention chairman Gerald Ford was told when and how to announce the result of a procedural vote—before the vote was taken.

There were all sorts of hokey appeals for the petulant Democratic vote—pitches ranging from Barry Goldwater's sanctimonious quoting of John Kennedy to Reagan's equally sanctimonious sympathy for poor old Hubert Humphrey because of "the contempt with which his own party had treated him."

It was striking to see just how much of the GOP's morality can be traced back to the surrealism of Hollywood. Ed Cox, Tricia Nixon's consort, told newsmen he considered the noblest statement on the abortion question to have been made in the movie, *The Cardinal*, wherein a woman died in childbirth because a priest refused to allow abortion (apparently Cox's unsolicited fanaticism was expressed to lessen the unhappiness of any Catholics who might have noticed that 75 per cent of the delegates were Protestants).

And there was Sammy Davis, Jr., sneaking up behind Nixon at the rock festival to give him a big hug because the President had just said what wonderful self-made men he and Sammy were (to help offset the fact that less than 4 per cent of the delegates were black, Sammy baby had been flown in from California in a plane supplied by Continental Oil Company).

The most important event of the convention was passage of a delegate-selection ruling that puts control of the Republican Party solidly in the hands of the most conservative element, and as Governor Rockefeller conceded "will cast the die for the form of the Republican Party

for the next twenty or thirty years." It seems highly likely that the 1976 product of the die-casting job will be the nomination of Spiro Agnew for President.

With this prospect in mind, it was interesting to note that the archconservative Rep. John Ashbrook was on hand at the convention to shame his colleagues with the reminder that Nixon had broken most of the platform promises of 1968—no wage and price control, no dealing with China, no deficit spending, etc. Ashbrook's complaint is a good one for anti-McGovern Democrats to keep in mind: because Nixon won the first time around by less than 1 per cent of the vote, he was willing to betray his oldest and most loyal supporters, the right wing, during his first four years, in order to develop a broader base. But if he is re-elected, what old fences will he mend and what promises of '72 will he break if his goal becomes the elevation of Agnew to the throne? ROBERT SHERRILL

CAMPAIGN '72

The Mugging of Ramsey Clark

The orchestrated attack by top Administration spokesmen—Mitchell, Rogers, Laird and Scott—on Ramsey Clark for his report on a recent visit to Hanoi was a typical Richard Nixon-Murray Chotiner political mugging, with surrogates applying the brass knuckles. What prompted it was the quiet, straightforward way in which Clark, in his twangy Texas accent, summarized his impressions and conclusions at a San Francisco news conference. His statement was eloquent (in its own way) and totally believable. The evidence he had seen had forced him to conclude that the recent bombings have been "inhumane beyond description—killing babies, women and old men." As though to underscore the truth of this statement, U.S. bombers carried out while Clark was speaking what the press described as "probably the heaviest raids ever" on North Vietnam. A witness of Clark's moral authority and impeccable credentials had to be targeted for an instant massive retaliatory strike. But the attack did not discredit Clark's statement; on the contrary it precipitated a renewal of the debate on the war which the Administration has been trying to avoid. At a luncheon session of the American Bar Association in San Francisco, Clark received "a long burst of applause" from a standing-room-only audience. If the Administration had brushed the Clark statement aside as of little interest—merely another report from an American visitor to Hanoi—it might well have been ignored and quickly forgotten. If Nixon continues to direct such overkill attacks—and he has never been able to avoid the low road in the heat of a campaign—he will be doing the Democrats a great favor.

In the same way the Incumbent, as Henry Kissinger refers to his boss, trotted out the Secretaries of State and Defense, who are not supposed to engage in partisan politics, to demolish Sargent Shriver for having said that the Administration "blew" a good chance to settle the war. Rogers, in particular, was apoplectic. Shriver wisely held his fire while Cyrus Vance and W. Averell Harriman—two highly credible witnesses—stepped forward to confirm what he had said. Indeed there can be little dispute about the facts. Recently leaked documents, including the Na-

IN THIS ISSUE

September 4, 1972

EDITORIALS

130

ARTICLES

135 Israel Looks at McGovern

Herbert Krosney

Labor Day, 1972:

136 1. George Meany's Last Hurrah

B. J. Widick

141 2. Labor Education: Need

William Goode

for Revival

Steve Murdock

143 3. Organizing the Unorganized

146 The Space Shuttle's Real Cost

Rep. Les Aspin

BOOKS & THE ARTS

149 Dodd: Polynesian Seafaring

Alexander Laing

150 The Writing on a Fallen Leaf;
Travelling (poems)

W. S. Merwin

151 "Athenian": Inside the Colonels'
Greece

Spyridon Granitsas

152 Fay, Chester and Linklater:
Hoax

Charles Lam Markmann

154 Weaver: William Carlos Williams

Harriet Zinnes

155 Ettinger: Man Into Superman

Jerome Tuccille

156 Driving on the San Diego
Freeway (poem)

Shirley Kaufman

157 Theatre in a Time of
Violence

James V. Hatch

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tional Security Council memorandum of February 1969, suggest that a good opportunity for serious negotiations did exist when the Administration took office. The large North Vietnamese troop withdrawals of the period could reasonably have been interpreted as a "signal" of Hanoi's willingness to negotiate, but the Administration elected to regard them as a menacing ploy. Now that some of the political thunder of the attack has subsided, the Administration—not Shriver—is on the defensive. Here again the "anything goes" tactics which the Incumbent has long favored, have given a serious charge against the Administration much wider publicity than it would otherwise have received. It could easily have been dismissed as "ancient history." Sooner or later the Incumbent will become impatient with the performance of his surrogates and start bombing the opposition in his own behalf. At that moment the Democrats should start cheering.

* * *

The real scandal of the Watergate caper is that the Administration may succeed in keeping a tight lid on the facts until after November 7. A charge of political espionage of the kind confirmed by the known facts—\$114,000 contributed to the Committee to Re-Elect the President has now been traced to the Miami bank account of one of the "burglars"—goes to the heart of the integrity of the political process. A President who would authorize, directly or indirectly, such action should be defeated on this count alone. But we do not know the extent to which the President is involved, nor can responsibility for the raid be fixed until the full facts are disclosed. This is an election year and the facts are extremely relevant to the decision which voters must make on November 7. "At this moment in the political year," as the *Washington Star-News* points out in a recent editorial, "we don't have the literary luxury of time. The Watergate mystery is seven weeks old and getting more rather than less disturbing. The Presidential campaign is upon us and the time for giving the American people some answers is now."

Yet despite the urgent and obvious case for immediate disclosure, the facts may remain "classified" until after November 7. A federal grand jury has been investigating the case for weeks and the end is not in sight. Even if indictments are returned, the likelihood of the case being tried before November 7 is slight. The civil action which Lawrence O'Brien initiated is being pressed with vigor by Edward Bennett Williams, but he has conceded that the case cannot go to trial before the election: "we just can't move that fast." The depositions of thirteen witnesses were taken, starting August 23, but Judge Richey has ruled that the depositions of most of them must be sealed pending the outcome of the criminal investigation. The depositions of Maurice Stans and John Mitchell were scheduled to be taken August 28 and September 1, but both could petition the court to seal the depositions on the ground that they might be named as defendants in a criminal action. The report of the Office of Federal Elections should be released soon, but it will deal only with possible violations of the new legislation regulating campaign contributions.

So where does all this leave us? Out in the cold—unless, that is, pressure of public opinion can force a disclosure of the full facts. Senator Proxmire has proposed that the President appoint an independent bipartisan commission to

investigate and report in thirty days. If the President rejects the suggestion—and he will—Proxmire intends to ask the Senate to order such an investigation. Even Senator Scott does not defend the Watergate action. "It is a very shabby business," he told the Senate on August 11. "I am not defending anything that happened . . . I just want to see if we can move it out of politics." But how can an issue that directly involves the integrity of the political process be kept out of politics? If the Administration does not respond, and soon, to the mounting demand for full disclosure, it should be adjudged presumptively guilty. As matters stand it is guilty of the larger offense of denying the public full knowledge of the facts. Is there a voter, of either party, who would seriously contend that the public is not entitled to know—before November 7—who directed this political espionage, who financed it, how long the surveillance continued, and who in the White House and the Committee to Re-Elect the President knew of it? Or are we to believe that political espionage by "breaking and entering" has become an accepted political practice?

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

The Cost of Nixon's 'Peace Plan'

With a large section of the media apparently convinced that Nixon is pitching a "no-hitter" and that McGovern's showing will be on the order of Landon's in 1936 (eight electoral votes) it is worth while to take a look at the cost of the Nixon "Peace Plan," about which we heard so much in 1968. It is of course perfectly possible that some sort of peace arrangement, or semblance thereof, will be patched up before November 7. Nixon may contrive an opportunity to slit the throat of that redoubtable anti-Communist statesman, Nguyen Van Thieu, in order to get the Indochinese war out of the headlines (it is relegated to the back pages already) and off the tube. We have never fallen into the trap of saying that a President as unprincipled as Nixon will not end up doing what he has vowed he will never do. We have only insisted that Nixon must be judged by his handling of the issue over his entire four-year term, and that is what McGovern should be stressing in the months ahead.

Rep. Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (R., Mich.) has done the spadework for him, asking the right questions and supplying answers under the rubric, "Actual Cost to Date—Blood and Money—of Nixon's 3½-Year 'Peace Plan'." It is a devastating compilation. "It is standard practice," Riegle writes, "for the Administration to express its Vietnam war policy with a single major graph—one with a downward slope reflecting the staged withdrawal of American ground forces." The carefree voter will be satisfied with the reduction from more than 500,000 troops to less than 50,000, with a further reduction to be announced about September 1. (Never mind the actual total of 120,000, including the Air Force and Naval complements, capable of inflicting far greater damage than all of Johnson's ground troops.) But if this complacent voter would allow his mind to dwell for just a minute on the past, he might be less satisfied.

Nixon's "Peace Plan" might more accurately be called a "War Plan." In summary, since Nixon took office it has cost more than 20,000 American dead, and more than

109,000 additional American wounded—many blinded, maimed or crippled for life, and many with only a short time to live because of their injuries. Missing in action in Nixon's war: 467, and known POWs: 70. With Nixon as Commander in Chief, 3.6 million tons of bombs have been dropped on the countries of Indochina, or some 200 pounds for every man, woman and child in North and South Vietnam combined. The horror can be better appreciated by comparison with the total U.S. tonnage of bombs dropped in World War II: 2.2 million. Less important, but not to be neglected, a money cost ascribable to Nixon of \$59 billion, or some \$1,200 for every American family of four.

But these figures, all based on data furnished by the Department of Defense, take in only part of the cost of the "Peace Plan" with which Nixon started what may, not inaccurately, be termed his reign. Thousands of young servicemen became drug addicts in Indochina in the past three and a half years. Nixon expanded the war into two countries, one of which—Cambodia—had been spared the ravages of combat entirely, and another—Laos—that had been, by comparison, only slightly touched. The additional Asian dead, wounded and homeless number in the millions. Barry Romo, a former Army lieutenant and a national coordinator of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, said at Miami: "We want an end of the Vietnam war, not a changing of the color of the skins of those who are dying"—the precise opposite of the Nixon policy.

What impels Nixon to continue the destruction of a small country that poses no threat to the United States, to drain billions of dollars desperately needed for constructive purposes at home, to accustom Americans to senseless bloodshed so long as their own kin are spared, and to support a dictatorial regime that tortures political prisoners, imprisons the few opponents that are left, subsists on corruption, and disgraces the United States before the world? The inescapable fact is that Nixon has no regard for world opinion, or for that matter American opinion from a moral standpoint. What does concern him is what he calls respect for the Presidency, and in particular the incumbent—Richard Nixon himself.

Anthony Lewis, writing from the Republican convention to *The New York Times* of August 22, said: "The historic notion that American wars have a dominant moral element divorced from militarism is now finished." That, Lewis comments, is a considerable achievement in one term as President. So far Nixon has got away with it. The judgment of history will be another matter, but he is apparently too self-satisfied to concern himself with anything beyond the triumphs and vanities of the present.

'America Lied to Us'

If the House of Representatives truly represents the people in the anti-bussing controversy, America is in for a bad time. The 1976 celebration of the country's bicentennial, already in a precarious state, may be turned into a disaster. When Parren Mitchell, a black Congressman from Maryland, stood in the well of the House and intoned, "My country 'tis of thee, Sweet land of bigotry," a hush fell on the lawmakers. "There are blacks tonight, Mr. Mitchell went on, "whom you've forced to say, 'We

want no more of America because America lied to us'. . . ."

The House then quickly recovered its poise and voted 282 to 102 for a stringent anti-bussing bill. Not satisfied with that, it voted to reopen previously settled desegregation cases. It is not only these actions that must be scrutinized but what they tell us about the socio-political state of the nation. This anti-bussing bill is so extreme that it may not get by the Senate. But even if it is defeated there, what are we to conclude about the feelings and motivations of the voters? Rep. James G. O'Hara (D., Mich.) has a record as a thoughtful white liberal. He was one of the authors of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Mark R. Arnold quotes him in the August 26th *National Observer*: "Bussing is the only issue in my district. I have received 5,000 to 10,000 letters on the question in the past year, exactly fifteen of them favoring bussing." So the liberal O'Hara voted with his illiberal colleagues for a bill which prohibits federal courts and agencies from prescribing cross-town bussing to cope with racial discrimination in the public schools.

Rep. John Conyers, Jr., also from Michigan but black, declared that the bill is "more than an attack on the courts, though it is that. It is more than a challenge to the integrity and the independence of the judiciary, and it is that as well. . . . But above everything else it is a sacrifice of the Constitution of the United States on the altar of political expediency." Mr. Conyers had no more effect than Mr. Mitchell and the other opponents of the bill.

In an effort to make the anti-bussing hysteria look constitutional, President Nixon proposed a distinction between students in grades one through six and those in grades seven through twelve. In the original version the bill flatly debarred the courts from prescribing bussing as a remedy in school desegregation for the younger children. (By the time they got to the seventh grade they could be thoroughly indoctrinated with racism.) For the older children, bussing was grudgingly permitted as a last resort. This was bad enough, but the House joined in the general hysteria and set up the school closest or next closest to the child's home as the only suitable educational facility in the land of the free. The House decreed this for all children, regardless of grade, thus abandoning the pretense of setting specific guidelines for the courts. In this the House may have overreached itself, since the unconstitutionality of the measure becomes glaringly evident.

Among the evil effects of the anti-bussing measure is the discrediting of liberals who felt obliged to vote for it to save their jobs. Of course they give other reasons, but no one is fooled, least of all black citizens and their Congressmen. The fact that must be faced is, as Rep. Ronald Dellums (D., Calif.) put it, that these recreant liberals "are following the paranoia, irrationality and racism of millions of people in this country." Some of these apostates plead that if they don't follow the crowd, their constituents will send a "real racist" to Congress. But even if that is true, as no doubt it is in some cases, isn't it better to go down fighting and to leave some qualms in the consciences of those of their constituents who are not wholly wrapped up in selfishness and bigotry? And isn't it the duty of a Congressman to appeal to the better

instincts of his constituents, and perhaps win them over to a decently democratic attitude toward their fellow citizens of a different color? The Senate, a more sober deliberative body, should surely make that effort.

The Two-Year Lettuce Strike

September 15 will mark the second year of the strike by which Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers have sought to organize the multimillion-dollar lettuce industry of California and Arizona. It will find the union very much on the defensive. A new law in Arizona declares secondary boycotts to be illegal. It is being challenged in the courts but has already been copied in several other states. In California, an initiative which would have much the same effect will be on the November 7th ballot and the growers are said to have budgeted \$1 million for its support. The opposition campaign will, of course, divert union energies and funds from the organizing campaign.

As might be expected, the media have not presented a clear view of the issues. A recent CBS news sequence, for example, would have its large viewing audience believe that the strike is a dispute between two unions in which innocent growers are caught in the middle. It can be stated as a fact that the Teamsters have never organized a single farm worker in California—not one, in the long history of the struggle to organize farm labor in that state. Now as in the past, the Teamsters have appeared on the scene at the invitation or with the overt encouragement of the growers, to frustrate the attempts of farm workers to achieve genuine self-organization. The plot is hoary. The Teamsters suddenly appear on the scene and succeed in securing contracts which call for wage rates somewhat higher than those prevailing and, invariably, some workers will sign with them because that seems to be the expedient thing to do. The Teamsters did not seek to organize farm workers until the summer of 1970, when it began to be clear that the United Farm Workers would follow up their successes in the table grape industry by attempting to organize lettuce workers in the Salinas Valley. The same CBS sequence, by way of making the point that the boycott effort was not succeeding, interviewed a black housewife who said that she just somehow felt that her family should have its "greens," strike or no strike, and a Japanese-American housewife who purported not to know about the strike. From the growers' point of view, this was clever casting, but was it responsible reporting? In all of California why were these two women and no others interviewed?

In the past, the Democrats have always fared well in California when an "anti-labor" initiative has appeared on the ballot; again and again such initiatives have brought out a heavy labor vote. Labor is well aware that the drive against the United Farm Workers could have national implications. The lettuce strike directly involves the future of the effort to organize farm workers, one of the more conspicuous gaps in labor's ambition to organize the unorganized. If the strike is eventually broken, the campaign to organize farm workers will be set back and the spill-over effect will be detrimental to all labor, the Teamsters included. If it succeeds, the millennium will have arrived: at long last, after countless starts and many failures, after

incredibly protracted and bitter strikes, farm workers will have won what they were entitled to from the start: the right to organize, a right which has been enjoyed by workers in other industries since the adoption of the National Labor Relations Act in the 1930s.

Snail Service

Few New Yorkers would describe the trip across Manhattan, from the East River to the Hudson, as a pleasure trip. It seems it was ever thus: at the turn of the century, it was ruefully admitted that, because of the traffic that choked the streets during business hours, the journey consumed eleven minutes. Today the trip can take something more than twice as long.

The blessings of modern methods have transformed many facets of our lives, but perhaps none so completely as the postal service. We have had occasion to advert to second-class mail, which is the method by which any periodical reaches its subscribers, and is thus of great importance to us at *The Nation*. Present proposals call for an increase in the next five years to second-class charges nearly two and a half times the present rates, which burden could be carried only by an appropriate increase in subscription rates for magazines and newspapers. But we would like for a moment to turn to first-class mail, from which also there is a lesson to be learned.

Many of us can remember the days when one stuck a two-cent stamp on a letter, and dropped it in the corner mailbox which was emptied five or six times every day, six days a week. Three times a day, on the average, the mailman would appear at the door with incoming mail. It was no cause for astonishment to receive letters mailed the day before in Boston or Washington, each more than 200 miles away.

Since then, the cost of a stamp has gone from two, to three, to four, to five, to six, and finally to eight cents, in *accelerando tempo*. But collection and delivery of first-class mail, far from accelerating, has been grievously retarded. Mail is picked up from most postboxes only once or twice a day—and in many cases, not at all on Saturdays. Deliveries, in most areas, have dropped from three to one a day. According to a survey made by *Reader's Digest*, the average letter takes five days and seven hours to be delivered; three years ago, it was in the recipient's hands in less than three days. Why, in a time of stunning and rapid technological advances, does it take almost twice as long to deliver a letter as it did in 1969?

One is tempted, in searching for an answer, mischievously to formulate a principle synthesizing Gresham's and Parkinson's Laws. It might be called the General Theory of Diminishing Returns. As bad money drives out good, currency is debased, and more buys less. And as any given work will tend to absorb somewhat more than the available time, space and manpower, so successive increases in resources will result in less and less work being done. It's not the way it's supposed to be, but the way, it seems, it happens.

Postal deficits undeniably stem from geometrically increasing costs. To the extent that they are reflected in better wages, hours and working conditions for letter carriers and other postal employees, there can be no criticism. But

we do not view labor's gains as the chief expense. The fact is that the Postal Service, in its rules and regulations, its table of organization and its business procedures, remains a 19th-century enterprise. The proliferation of highway vehicles and air routes and consequent decline of the railways, the rise of direct-mail merchandising and advertising, the explosion of personal credit, the appearance of giant conglomerate enterprises, multinational corporations, and other factors have placed demands on the system that patchwork and improvisation obviously cannot meet. The horrendous snarls which began about five years ago will continue to occur, and service will go on deteriorating, until the most sophisticated business methods and modern computer technology can be put to work. It was the intent of the Congress that this would happen when the corporate Postal Service was set up more than two years ago. It is to be sure an enormous task, and

Postmaster Elmer Klassen estimates it will take at least another five years to accomplish. Such candor is praiseworthy, but can the country afford five more years of deteriorating mail service? We feel strongly that the delay is far too long, and that more immediate—and more Draconian—methods are called for.

The key word, after all, is "service." Since Benjamin Franklin's day the assumption has been that Americans were entitled to postal service as good as any in the world, at reasonable cost. Much has been said about the need for the U.S. mail to pay its way, but there is surely no more need for that than for the U.S. Army, or a police department or school system, to pay its way. Such desiderata should be emphatically put aside in favor of the immediate need to bring the service to 20th-century standards. It is even possible that the financial problems would simultaneously yield to progress.

ISRAEL LOOKS AT McGOVERN

HERBERT KROSNEY

Mr. Krosney is The Nation's correspondent in Israel.

Jerusalem

The news of Senator McGovern's nomination wasn't received here with the interest it might well have deserved. On the day he was nominated the lead story on the Kol Israel hourly newscast was that Prime Minister Sidky of Egypt was in Moscow for a brief visit. The second item was the day's happenings at the trial of Kozo Okamoto, the surviving Japanese terrorist of the Lod Airport massacre. The third item concerned the latest tidbit in Israel's government crisis, relating to a civil marriage bill introduced into the Knesset, Israel's Parliament, by Gideon Hausner of the Independent Liberal Party. The U.S. Democratic nominations were fourth on the list: an item treated with curiosity but not enthusiasm.

In fact, the order of items on the newscast accurately reflected Israel's concerns on that July day. The Sidky visit turned out to be the last stage in the breach between the Soviet Union and Egypt. Okamoto represented the incomprehensibility, to Israel, of the terrorism directed against it—the paradox of a man unrelated to the Arab cause but committed to "world revolution" coming to Lod to murder wantonly some twenty-six persons and wound scores more, in order to become, in his words, a "star in the firmament." The governmental crisis seemed real for a while and it should be noted that it came about on a bill relating to the "personal status" of Israelis, and the relationship of the individual to government and religion.

The fact is that there's widespread agreement here on security questions and future negotiations with the Arabs, but very little agreement on the ideal Israel of the future—and bitter disagreement on the place of religion in the new Israel. If the Arab wars could be concluded, the Jewish wars could well prove to be a more serious threat to Israel's future existence and inner tranquillity.

And it may be that America looms less enormous than it once did; the world no longer hangs on its every breath. There are other centers of commercial, political and even military power in the world. Yet Israel is a country closely allied with the United States—it is no exaggeration to say that its life or death can be controlled by McGovern, should he be elected, and one hopes that he would exercise his responsibility to this region with care—with the kind of commitment and sophistication which will help bring peace to this part of the world. Without American weaponry the Middle East would long since have seen another conflagration. Egypt would long since have struck out to recover "Arab land" by military means. The Russian presence would be further entrenched in Cairo and elsewhere, and Cairo would never have made a decision to expel its Russian advisers.

The sophistication needed is to divide the problem into two: on the one hand, between Israel and the Palestinians, and on the other, concerning Israel's relations with the Arab states. In the former respect some pressure on Israel might be necessary in the future: but America won't be able to exercise this pressure until it first shows itself committed to Israeli survival.

It really is a source of wonderment here, though, how strongly McGovern has come out for Israel. Can he really mean it? I don't hesitate to assume that his motives are political, not idealistic. Even so, I find it hard to believe that the "Jewish vote" is so strong that he must court it so lavishly. I'd like to hear just one American politician say something, sometime, about the possibility of Israel's being "a light to the nations"—for that is the profound prophecy of Israel's future role. I'd like to hear McGovern say, "Yes, I share this vision. Israel does mean something special to me."

The prophetic view of Israel is usually not related to its politics, but Israel is as democratic a country as exists, including the United States. I sometimes wonder if

democracy isn't a function of size. In any case, the problems here seem far more manageable than in the States. Even if one doesn't relate Israel's *raison d'être* and future possibilities to its governmental structure, one could easily learn quite a few lessons here about "the quality of life"—which is, after all, a spiritual as well as a physical question.

Of course, the Senator's statements could be "politics," and the Israelis would not blame him for being influenced by the possibility of becoming President. They just don't quite trust him—or anyone, for that matter. In fact, having known betrayal from ideologically motivated left-wing as well as rightist parties—from Britain's Labour Party in 1946 under Foreign Minister Bevin, from the Gaullist betrayal of 1967—Israelis tend to prefer a cool cucumber like Nixon at the helm. They don't particularly trust Nixon on the personal level; they see him as a man lacking flamboyance, but one who has stuck by Israel and may just be personally as well as politically committed to it because of the common interest in stopping the Soviet advance in the Mediterranean. In any case, Nixon, who was dreaded and feared four years ago because of his possible dependence on the moneyed oil interests, has come to be respected. Not liked, but respected. Who could like Nixon?

One reason, I believe, why Nixon came to support Israel was his meetings with Mrs. Meir. Despite her blindness on the whole question of Palestinian nationalism, she is a great and moral leader. It's hard for me to imagine Nixon and Meir in the same room together—she has so much more stature than he, or any but a few persons in the world of politics. It's one of the anomalies of poli-

tics that a country like Israel, with its party-entrenched politics and its formidable junior bureaucracy, has managed to produce such outstanding leaders—so much so that a Mrs. Meir, a Ben-Gurion, even a Moshe Dayan can stand in the same room with the President of the United States and the latter be diminished by their presence. Power is a game in the States; here it's survival. Leaders have somehow emerged to meet that challenge.

Parenthetically, McGovern should give Nixon credit for his Middle East policy, though much of the praise should probably go to Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Joseph Sisco. In Israel a number of people call him "the bloody old Italian." He is highly respected here: and in Cairo, too. Whoever gets elected, I'd suggest keeping him around.

Let me suggest another thing. I think McGovern should say he still believes in a partitioned, but federated country; in Arab rights and autonomy in a part of that country; in a future federation between Israel and the Eastern half of divided Eretz Israel; in economic integration between the two parts of that country; in a peace between the parties to the dispute, the Israelis and the Palestinians. He may not think that such an approach would win him Jewish votes. I think its tough honesty, its call to Israel to deal with the Palestinians and Trans-Jordanians, would give bite to his other pro-Israel proposals. Not only that—it would offer a clean line for American policy, one which could contribute further to de-internationalizing the Middle East problem; help the Arab States and Israel to talk to each other; and still defend and advocate the human rights of both the Palestinian and Jewish peoples.

Anyway, I wish the Senator the best of luck. □

LABOR DAY, 1972

1. George Meany's Last Hurrah

B. J. WIDICK

Mr. Widick, currently professor of industrial relations in the Graduate School of Business at Columbia University, has been The Nation's labor correspondent since 1958. He has served as research director of the United Rubber Workers, and from 1946 to 1961 was a plant official, then research economist with the United Auto Workers. His books include Labor Today: The Triumphs and Failures of Unionism in the United States (Houghton Mifflin) and, most recently, Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence (Quadrangle Press).

Finding cause for celebration on Labor Day, 1972—a time set aside to honor the contribution of the working man and woman to America's growth—requires enormous optimism within the ranks of organized labor. For not since 1932 have America's labor leaders, unions and workers been so divided on major issues, including the Presidential contest. Unwilling to acknowledge this tragic impasse, the AFL-CIO Executive Council has taken

refuge in an ancient AFL posture calculated to aggravate the situation. By a vote of 27 to 3, the Council adopted "neutrality" as its position on the race between President Nixon and Senator McGovern; the decision recalls the hierarchy's division in the 1932 campaign between Hoover and Roosevelt.

That year, in the midst of the Great Depression, the AFL Council professed to see no significant difference between the Republican and the Democratic candidates. Posing as "nonpartisan" and independent, the AFL repeated then its moth-eaten formula: "Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other office; whether executive, legislative or judicial."

As most newspaper readers or TV watchers know, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has reverted to that prescription. He has informed the nation—which includes not only his "constituents" but also the poor,

the black and the unorganized—that it makes no difference whether President Nixon is re-elected or Senator McGovern unseats him. Meany announced that he was going to abstain from voting in that contest—an example which very few politically awake Americans are likely to follow.

Far more important, however, is the fact that, as a serious policy for the trade unions, “neutrality” is as disingenuous in 1972 as it was in 1932. Its real intent is to neutralize labor’s political power by fomenting political disarray. In so attempting, it ignores the known views of a majority of AFL-CIO union presidents, and the views of the majority of blue-collar workers, who propose to take sides, and who will vote, as usual, as Democrats. “Neutrality” serves an internal purpose for some union leaders—it gives legal sanction for such individual deals as they may try to make with the Administration, even though a Republican triumph cannot be expected to serve the broad interests of American labor. The AFL-CIO formula, insisted upon by George Meany, is also intended to be another step in the Meany campaign to destroy Senator McGovern, with whom Meany not only disagrees on the war but hates with the intensity he reserved for Richard Nixon just ten months ago.

Under the cover of “neutrality” and with William Hutcheson of the Carpenters in the lead, the building trades unions endorsed Herbert Hoover. So did John L. Lewis, president of the coal miners’ union. Other unions, notably the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, campaigned vigorously for Roosevelt. But the American voter—above all, the blue-collar worker—paid scant attention to the spokesmen for organized labor in 1932, thus saving the labor barons of the period from an extinction of their own making.

However, there are significant differences between the performance of the AFL hierarchs in 1932, including the inept William Green, then president of the AFL, and the coolly planned political machinations of George Meany. Leaders of AFL unions like the Machinists, Electrical Workers, Retail Clerks and others, whose ranks constitute more than half of the AFL-CIO membership, have expressed support of Senator McGovern. The Auto Workers’ Union with about 1.5 million members is ardently in the Senator’s camp. Segments of the building trades leaders, probably a majority, will line up for Nixon. They represent unions with about 3 million members. The Maritime unions, with about 215,000 members, are also leaning in the President’s direction. The heads of the powerful Teamsters union (2 million members) endorsed Nixon for re-election.

A poll of more than ninety AFL-CIO presidents showed a majority for McGovern—not the least of the reasons why Meany called off a scheduled meeting of all AFL-CIO presidents to consider endorsement of a Presidential candidate. Some union leaders, among them Floyd Smith of the Machinists and Joseph Beirne of the Communications Workers, have announced that they are supporting McGovern, despite the fact that they voted for the Council’s neutrality policy.

Given this assessment of how the majority of unionists

feel about the Presidential campaign, and with the cost of living going up and unemployment remaining high, Meany couldn’t attempt to mobilize the unions openly to re-elect President Nixon. The last big labor leader who tried to tear the workers from their traditional Democratic voting pattern sank into oblivion soon afterward. That was John L. Lewis, and his candidate was Wendell Willkie, Roosevelt’s opponent in 1940. (In 1944 Meany, as secretary-treasurer of the AFL, supported Thomas Dewey against Franklin D. Roosevelt.)

Meany’s political stock, already running low—his tactics in the primary campaigns were a disaster—would entirely vanish if he became an avowed Nixon partisan. Besides which, Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters, already occupies that seat at the table of the pro-business Administration situated in the White House. What Meany is doing, and has been doing long before the Democratic convention, is conduct a campaign to destroy McGovern’s prospects and the “New Politics” he symbolizes. Meany’s candidate in the Democratic primaries was Sen. Henry Jackson, who was partly financed by AFL-CIO money and whose campaign was “brain-trusted” by Meany forces. When Jackson’s campaign fizzled, the Meany forces fell back on Hubert Humphrey. Their contempt for Senator “Mushie” (as they called Muskie) was well known long before the New Hampshire fiasco.

Jackson’s function was to do a hatchet job on Senator McGovern in the primaries, and it must be admitted he tried. He failed, but nonetheless he gave the GOP material for the Presidential race. A second major Meany ploy was sprung at the Democratic Party convention. AFL-CIO staff people, among others, passed out an unsigned document attacking McGovern—a political tract described as “scurrilous” by Jerry Wurf, president of State, County and Municipal Employees, one of the largest AFL-CIO unions, and a McGovern supporter. This was another favor to the Nixon campaign. Why take the low road when you can use AFL-CIO material, Vice President Agnew must be asking himself.

Now there are reports from Washington that the AFL-CIO is going to put out a more refined official document. They may revive President Roosevelt’s use of the famous phrase, “a plague on both your houses,” forgetting that this hurt the Steelworkers’ strike in Little Steel in 1937. Meany now declares himself to be leading the labor movement to independence from the Democratic Party. Of course this begs the question: are you splitting from the Left or Right? Is the Democratic Party too conservative for your militancy or too radical for your conservatism? The last of the cold warriors, Meany sees the Democratic Party as a disaster captured by peace lovers—not an endearing term at AFL-CIO headquarters. Using the traditional test of the AFL-CIO on voting record—as both the UAW and the Machinists have proved—the Nixon record is anti-labor while McGovern rates high. But who cares when there are other fish to fry?

Currently the Meany forces are employing three tactics to defeat McGovern. (1) They will deprive the Democratic candidate of some of the money and staff resources he would normally expect. COPE, the political action arm of the AFL-CIO, has been ordered to remain

neutral under the council decision. (2) They are trying to minimize the efforts of individual AFL-CIO activists who endorse and campaign for McGovern: "George Meany is wiser than you. Don't waste your time and money. It doesn't matter who wins. Concentrate on lesser offices and contests." It will be a long summer's night before men like Wurf, or Leonard Woodcock, or Floyd Smith, or Paul Jennings or other union leaders buy that line. Here one may see the beginning of a genuine split in the top leadership of American trade unionism. (3) They offer a mantle of respectability for the building trades leaders who are making their own deals with the Administration by placing the umbrella of "neutrality" over their maneuvers.

No one appreciated the Meany tactics more than the man who invited him on July 28 to a friendly game of golf at a swanky private country club reserved for Washington's limousine elite. It was the least President Nixon could do for his AFL-CIO friend. Unquestionably it was a day of mutual joy. The President knows his politics well enough to understand the advantage of having the American trade unions—a major force that might be expected to oppose passionately his re-election—in a state of disarray. COPE was vitiated, the Teamsters were with him, Meany's neutrality sure beat his opposition, and Meany's staff people were doing a neat job on McGovern. The news—"George has an in again"—made some AFL-CIO leaders happy. A power broker out in the cold isn't much use to anybody.

Besides, both Meany and the President had something else to chortle about: the Eagleton affair. It was a break for the President, since the least damage it did was to slow down, if not halt, the momentum of the McGovern campaign. For Meany it meant even more: it justified in his mind his contempt for McGovern, and gave him an argument within the trade union hierarchy which he and his ally, I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers, were quick to use. The wounded pride of Miami Beach was salved; it was a moment of gloating.

The basic assumption beneath all this maneuvering is that it will work. The Democratic Party, as Abel has often stated and still believes, is alleged to be headed for massive defeat. At the Democratic convention Abel made a significant, little noted speech on how some sections of the trade union movement feel about McGovern. "You may win the votes of the self-styled liberals, the anti-labor snobs—but that's not America." Abel warned that many working Americans were "sick and tired of being called racists and reactionaries by slick Madison Avenue hucksters—or by alleged liberal politicians who couldn't get elected without them." Given the Eagleton affair, Abel, after some argument, convinced the majority of the Steelworkers' Executive Board to declare neutrality in the race, even though that will mean a fight at the Steelworkers' convention later this season, and has antagonized the union's large black membership. Can anyone imagine the task of AFL-CIO people trying to tell black audiences, union or not, that there is no significant difference between Nixon and McGovern? Or that it doesn't matter if there is? Can A. Philip Randolph go along with that policy?

But the flaws in conventional wisdom and back-room

tactics are once again breaking into the open, to remind observers that there aren't any sure bets in politics—especially the massive defeat of the Democrats projected by Abel. On August 4, *The Wall Street Journal* carried a major article on Nixon and labor which is unlikely to enhance his reputation or that of the labor leaders involved. Most certainly, the article won't increase Meany's influence on industrial, service, public employee workers and their unions.

The article explains in detail how the Administration is making *quid pro quo* deals with the conservative wing of the American trade unions to get political support in the Presidential campaign. Among the points raised are:

The administration has placated New York City hard-hats by letting the building trades get by with meeting only about one-fourth of the goal of a Labor Department-approved, minority-hiring plan for the city's construction industry.

* * *

Nixon-backed legislation is providing for the government-subsidized construction of thirty ships a year to bolster the nation's dwindling merchant fleet, and maritime unions are duly grateful.

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Responding to the demands of certain top Teamsters and extending an olive branch to other transportation unions, the White House has pulled back its labor-opposed proposal for curbing strikes in the trucking, maritime, longshore, airline and rail industries.

* * *

The Administration's Cost of Living Council has abandoned its effort to keep the wage-control exemption for low-paid workers at \$1.90 an hour and lifted it to \$2.75; labor leaders had attacked the \$1.90 cutoff.

* * *

A Labor Department lawsuit demanding a rerun of the 1968 election in the Seafarers' largest district has been dropped after federal officials decided union President Paul Hall had taken adequate action to prevent any irregularities in future balloting.

* * *

Apparently aware that Teamster Boss Frank Fitzsimmons fears predecessor James Hoffa may try to muscle his way back into the union, Labor Secretary James Hodgson has publicly reminded Hoffa that he is free on a Presidential parole and "had better watch his step."

For the building trades leadership there is another "goody":

A feature in the Administration's drive to win the building trades has been the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, the tripartite panel that controls wages in the industry. It has generally taken a more gradual approach than has the Pay Board. But the committee's real appeal to the construction union presidents who sit on it has been the clout it has given them over many of their traditionally independent and sometimes rebellious locals. Sharp increases in manpower-training grants have given the construction unions another reason to appreciate the Nixon Administration. Mr. Hodgson boasted not long ago that more than \$30 million in such grants would go to labor unions, mainly in the building trades, this year; that's up from \$14 million

in 1970 and a mere \$8 million in 1968, before the Nixon regime took over.

But where does that leave the rest of the trade unions? They know: out in the cold. Even I. W. Abel exploded publicly last spring over the policy of the Pay Board to hold most union raises down to 5.5 per cent this year while the Construction Industry Stabilization Board, operating virtually autonomously, was calling 10 per cent settlements modest.

Will this kind of politics as usual—and President Nixon is skillful at that game—work in 1972? The assumption in Washington appears to be that it will. “We are



George Meany

way ahead of anything I would have expected in my wildest dreams two or three years ago,” *The Wall Street Journal* quotes an Administration official as boasting. “There’s never been a time when we’ve had this good a chance with labor.”

Just before the November 1970 elections, Meany declared the Democratic Party in a shambles, disintegrated and in danger of becoming the party of extremists of the New Left. Vice President Agnew campaigned on that assumption, the Republicans didn’t win and the Democratic

Party was rejuvenated. But American unionists’ memories are supposed to be so short—and this reflects on what contempt the Meany forces have for the workers they claim to represent—that nobody will remember that only a year ago Meany described President Nixon as “a phony,” “a sneak” and “a union buster.”

For good measure, “Nixon was put in there by Wall Street bankers to bust up these unions. He’s doing what he’s told. He was put in there by the money men.” That suggestion comes from Mrs. George Meany, speaking for herself and her husband. Since most union leaders and a preponderance of members still believe that evaluation to be sound, it would be a mistake to overestimate the effect of Meany’s attempt to damage the McGovern campaign.

Now that the Vice Presidential spot on the Democratic Party team has been settled, pro-McGovern labor leaders are looking for considerable assistance from such figures as Senators Kennedy and Humphrey. Having watched both of them at union conventions in recent years, I can assert with confidence that they will have far more influence on blue-collar workers than will George Meany.

Within the union movement three possible outcomes of the election are projected. Suppose that Nixon wins overwhelmingly, the likelihood of Democratic losses in Congress is great, and labor’s influence would be less than it is today. A wave of anti-unionism could be expected. For most union leaders four more years of Nixon signifies that trend, plus continued inflation, unemployment and a pro-business Administration. In that event, George Meany won’t be very helpful—except for small favors like minor appointments and White House dinners.

If the election is close, but Nixon wins, the factionalism in the union movement will intensify. Who among the McGovern supporters would forgive Meany and the building trades leaders for “making the difference”? That’s the high-risk gamble for national AFL-CIO headquarters.

And suppose McGovern wins? Who then will need George Meany?

In any event, the November election should produce the last hurrah for George Meany as a labor leader. The “unifier” of 1955 between the AFL and the CIO is ending his career as a political “spoiler” and an emperor who stands naked, stripped of his former power, presiding over an organization split organizationally and politically. Walter Reuther is gone, but the UAW and Leonard Woodcock are very much around and independent. Jimmy Hoffa is nobody, but Frank Fitzsimmons and the Teamsters don’t need Meany to make deals with Republicans.

Besides puncturing the grotesque posture of George Meany as Mr. Organized Labor, current developments have exploded other myths about unions and their members that have led to a serious misreading of their nature and functioning.

Long after Tony Boyle disappears, the coal miners’ union will remain, and be seeking allies in the union movement to re-establish itself as a decent organization, freed from a corrupt regime. No one in the union movement, including members of the Teamsters’ Executive Board, expects Fitzsimmons to deliver a big Nixon vote; when he was for years at the height of his power Hoffa tried to defeat Gov. G. Mennen Williams in Michigan,

but he never changed truck drivers into Republicans, however much money he spent. With unemployment among building trades workers hovering around 10 per cent, selling Republican prosperity won't be easy.

Many unionists believe, and it seems probable, that the real aim of the Teamsters' leadership has been to achieve respectability by "going Republican." They are no longer pariahs excluded from the Establishment. After all, Frank Fitzsimmons was given the Freedom Foundation award of 1972 by no less a distinguished American than Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful that limousine labor leaders, making \$100,000 a year plus expenses, have any more real influence on people than do limousine liberals. Even such relatively down-to-earth processes as union conventions have a limited value in assessing the blue-collar vote.

A case in point will be the upcoming Steelworkers' convention, where I. W. Abel and his Executive Board will recommend neutrality as union policy. In his brilliant study of the Steelworkers, *The Right to Challenge*, John Herling revealed some data on how distorted convention representation in that union may be. In the 1968 convention, for example, "nearly 40 per cent of the local unions . . . were, in fact, represented by an international union officer, a district director, or a paid employee at the headquarters or the district level. The votes controlled by them, if a roll call was taken, would come to about 13 per cent of the vote, weighted by membership." But, as Herling points out, perhaps the main point, "is not the size of the vote but the number of individual staff representatives on the convention floor, the influence they exercise on voice votes, as well as on the management of parliamentary business from the floor."

In the circumstances, it is obviously an open question whether the steel convention decision will reflect the Steelworkers in the plants or the interests of the Abel bureaucracy. With some twenty-seven other union conventions taking place before the November election, a similar analysis of who are delegates would provide a more meaningful source of political interpretation than the naive assumption that union leader equals union member when it comes to the labor vote.

The political insensitivity of many trade union leaders, and a source of their lack of public influence or respect may be evidenced by two major issues confronting them: corruption and union growth. Haynes Johnson and Nick Kotz of *The Washington Post* came up with this survey of labor leaders' attitudes toward corruption:

Most AFL-CIO board members were also warm in their praise for the United Mine Workers president, W. A. (Tony) Boyle who was having his troubles with the law. Boyle's union has been found guilty of improperly failing to invest its pension funds, and of making illegal contributions to the 1963 presidential campaign. It still faces charges of union election fraud and of dictatorially holding most UMW districts in trusteeships [a federal court since has found the union guilty of election fraud—*BJW*].

Of the presidents we interviewed, only John Lyons, president of the Iron Workers would criticize Boyle and his union. . . . "The system of using retired people to vote is wrong. Keeping that pension money in the bank without drawing interest is outrageous."

The solidarity of labor's top leaders with the embattled Boyle was symbolized in recent weeks when Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons and AFL-CIO Counsel Robert Meyer (a Meany son-in-law) both went on the board of the UMW-owned National Bank of Washington.

In praising Boyle and dismissing his critics, Steelworkers president, I. W. Abel, expressed attitudes held by many labor leaders: "I don't buy it when a lot of outsiders get a sudden great interest in the activities of the labor movement."

"I think Landrum-Griffin makes it most difficult to do an effective job of leadership. It encourages irresponsible dissidents to shoot everything down. . . .

"I'd like to see democracy exercised to the fullest in our union or any union, but democracy in the union movement, as in various segments of life, can be carried to an extreme."

Who but a man with an aristocratic view of the poor, black and white, and the low-income worker would dare proclaim the following views as representing a voice of unionism? (The excerpts are from an interview with Meany in *U.S. News & World Report*, February 21):

Q. Mr. Meany, what is the state of the union movement today? Why is total membership not growing as fast as the country's labor force?

A. I don't know. I don't care.

Q. You don't care? Why not?

A. We have never had a large portion of the work force in this country—nothing like Britain, nothing like the Scandinavian countries, nothing like the Germans.

Q. Would you prefer to have a larger proportion?

A. Not necessarily. We've done quite well without it. And we are not tied to any political party, and we feel that we've got along without that too. We've delivered more to the American worker than any labor movement that ever existed—today, yesterday or in the past—and we inherited a good deal of our labor movement, its principles from the Germans and, to a lesser extent, from the British.

With all our complaints, we have the highest standard of living in the world.

Why should we worry about organizing groups of people who do not appear to want to be organized? If they prefer to have others speak for them and make the decisions which affect their lives, without effective participation on their part, that is their right. (Original emphasis.)

And yet Meany doesn't understand why the McGovern youth despise him and love Cesar Chavez. Nor does he understand why more and more unions are beginning to merge in self-defense, since the AFL-CIO as an institution hasn't delivered the goods during Meany's regime.

But George Meany and his allies do understand one very important aspect of the movement symbolized by the McGovern candidacy. It was stated by Leonard Woodcock, of the Auto Workers, in explaining some of the vote for neutrality in the AFL-CIO Council. It was "for some of the union people an awareness that there was, in a sense, an insurrection in the Democratic Party this year, and some union people feel if that sort of thing isn't stopped, similar insurrections might take place in their own unions."

Imagine—democracy in the Democratic Party, and democracy in the trade union movement! George Meany forbid. □

2. Labor Education: Need for Revival

WILLIAM GOODE

Mr. Goode, who holds a B.A. degree in English literature and an A.M. in sociology from Wayne State University, began work in the late 1940s on the DeSoto and Ford assembly lines. He soon shifted over to the educational side of the labor movement, becoming director of the Michigan Labor Committee on Human Rights, coordinator of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Michigan and Wayne State, and from 1963 to 1970 assistant director of the Leadership Studies Center, UAW. In 1970, Mr. Goode became the first director of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Labor Institute. He is at present director of the Walter and May Reuther UAW Family Education Center.

Unions are limited function organizations. Education is for them a tertiary concern, and no unionist can quarrel with the priorities. Many radical critics tend to confuse unions with political parties; they are not. Their function is to represent workers at their work site on such pedestrian matters as wages, hours and working conditions. Unions must do these things well or they cannot exist. But grievance handling and negotiations, however expert, cannot create an even adequate social situation for unions.

The second necessary role for the union movement is to offset declining effectiveness of collective bargaining by increased political action. And finally, a union must educate its members to the realities of economic, political and social life in the United States. What, immediately, must the member learn? Broadly speaking, he must be weaned from the myths of this society. Unionists must know that profits and a war-fevered economy, not their wage increases, are the causes of inflation. The source of revenues and their distribution must be understood. The inequities of the American tax structure must be exposed. Low-income groups, not the middle or upper brackets, pay the largest proportion of their income for taxes.

Unionists need to know that during the period of the Korean War more lives were lost in industrial accidents than on the battlefield. They must understand that much of the foreign aid programs were self-serving economic or political instrumentalities and not largesse dispensed by a generous Uncle Sam. The myths surrounding race in the United States must be destroyed. The list is endless and requires a savage muckraking attack on the consensus that engulfs workers to their disadvantage.

Further, a union must be prepared to criticize the industry in which it has organized workers. Recent trade and balance of payment deficits have prompted some unions to join industry in calling for protective tariffs and quotas. Such energy would be better spent exposing the technological failures of some American industries.

The basic task of worker education is to prepare the rank and file to defend its gains. Workers must be able to write a grievance, prepare an arbitration brief and attain related basic skills. One of the most frequently heard complaints from rank and filers and secondary leaders is, "That other stuff is O.K., but what am I going to do Monday morning when I have to face the foreman

with a grievance?" Labor education *must* fill this need.

The most often heard criticism of labor education is that it never reaches beyond the grievance level, and it would be pleasant to reply by referring to that great and now largely ignored sociologist, Robert Lynd, who asked *Knowledge for What?* But the question has an archaic ring; at best it sounds commonplace, at worst, anti-intellectual. There is a strong tendency in the United States to confuse pragmatic biases with anti-intellectualism. Richard Hofstadter, for example, concludes one discussion: "Hence, as the demand for the rights of the common man took form in 19th-century America, it included a program for free elementary education, but it also carried with it a dark and sullen suspicion of high culture, as a creation of the enemy." Proof? Davy Crockett, early in his career, stopped the building of a college in Tennessee on land where the University of North Carolina held land warrants, his reason being that his constituents would not get to use them. "For American society it was tragic that the interests of higher education and those of the ordinary citizen should thus be allowed to appear in conflict." The cruel fact is that this appearance often prevailed.

But ambivalence toward education, not anti-intellectualism, better characterizes the attitude of the working class. The boss, having money and status, is the exploiter. The boss also has education, therefore it is no good. On the other hand, education must be a powerful weapon if it can do so much for the bosses.

The pragmatic skill-oriented approach to labor education is not held by other countries. Joe Mire notes that in Great Britain, "The typical WEA (Workers Educational Association) course lasts three years, includes written assignments, considerable reading and examinations, and is taught either by an extramural staff member or by a member of the university's resident faculty. The most frequently offered courses are in history, economics, philosophy, psychology, political science and literature." (This assessment could stand closer scrutiny. American workers have more education than do their British counterparts and my experience has been that reading and writing skills are low enough among the former to warrant some suspicion about the statement.)

But these differences are not to be explained by intrinsic intellectual differences between U.S. and British workers; rather it reflects different social circumstances and political organization. European unionism was initially much more class-oriented and sought educational subject matter that reinforced class position. American unionism has been much more job-oriented and has looked for knowledge to aid that form of struggle.

But it was not always so. Earlier attempts at labor education gave a predominantly humanistic emphasis to their programs. Brookwood Labor College and the needle trades union schools, in varying degrees, were oriented toward the social sciences with a strong secondary interest in the liberal arts. The change occurred during the great organizing days of the 1930s. Jack Barbash, industrial

relations expert at the University of Wisconsin, concludes that the shift to bread-and-butter education was motivated by the need for technical competence necessary to maintain an efficiently functioning organization. That is undoubtedly true. However, there is another aspect of the problem: the initiators of the early programs were all radically oriented and their horizons were broader than steward training and union administration. With the tremendous expansion in union membership of the 1930s, the relative number of these militants diminished. Education increasingly became the concern of people who lacked strong ideological backgrounds.

Unions did not have a monopoly on labor education for long. After World War II, the universities entered into the area in greater numbers. This happened partly because the union movement insisted that state university systems provide a measure of service to their organizations. It was also a result of the universities' concern about the problems of labor relations.

The early programs included representatives of both labor and management, it being assumed that "industrial peace" could be achieved by greater understanding and "togetherness" of the two parties. However, it soon became clear that labor education could not be undertaken on that basis, and universities since then have been caught between a desire to service separate elements of the community and a high regard for objectivity resulting from their public position in the whole society.

Barbash notes that university education for workers had three main aspects: (1) The major emphasis was on "bread-and-butter" subject matter. (2) The classroom was the main channel for learning. (3) There was no systematic or widespread use of written teaching materials.

All of these aspects changed in time. University programs are now reluctant to teach skills, it being academically prestigious to deal with subject matter of a more advanced nature. Executive boards of university labor programs prefer a large conference of top labor, management and government officials to a dozen stewards' training courses, even though the latter may be of infinitely more value to the union movement.

For a while, there was also a tendency for university labor programs to move into the community. Classes were established in the local halls; basic skills were taught as close as possible to the job site. Now the pendulum seems to be swinging back; programs are being offered on a one- or two-year basis, with the campus as the teaching site. This undoubtedly cuts costs and allows the teaching of more sophisticated subjects. In view of the enormous expenditures on middle-class kids, the cost factor should not be overwhelming, and high school completion courses in low-income groups are successful largely because they are held in familiar places, local halls, store fronts, etc.

However, there is no best teaching site; it depends on what group within the union is being taught. Those workers who seek out labor education programs are not necessarily the potential leadership. While they are extremely dedicated unionists, they may have little interest in seeking office in their locals. They see education primarily as a source of personal enrichment, even though

it is highly job-oriented, and for them the university is an ideal location for classes. Their impulses should, of course, be encouraged and helped in every way possible.

There is another group, however, whose political skills and ambitions are greater but whose attitude toward education is less broad and for whom a skills-oriented program on the work site would be better. It would be a sorry day, though, if labor education became simply a series of union skills courses for stewards, committee men, financial secretaries or officers of locals.

At the Walter and May Reuther UAW Family Education Center at Black Lake, Mich., skills-oriented courses are in low demand. At the UAW week-long regional summer schools, workshops on parliamentary procedure, time study, arbitration, etc., are oversubscribed, but at Black Lake it is hard to find twenty students out of nearly 300 to sign up for such courses.

The fact of greatest pride to the Black Lake staff is the development in just two short weeks of the spouses of our membership. They come into our mock local unions and introduce themselves by saying, "I'm with him," indicating their husbands. In a very few days these women, who have probably never belonged to a voluntary organization in their lives, become presidents of locals, help prepare resolutions on difficult social, political and economic questions, chair a mock convention of 350 people, and are deeply involved in activities of the sort that their husbands have been familiar with for years.

The same is true of teen-agers. The children of the members are in a day camp for every hour their parents are in a program. During our first session with children we had a tremendous problem with teen-agers. They cruised the 800 acres, uninhibited by counselors or the admonitions of their parents. On the suggestion of one of our adult students we put them into a mock local, made them responsible for a youth resolution at the mock convention, and conducted a union program for them.

It was an instantaneous success. However, it did create problems. The first youth resolution advocated the legalization of marijuana. The vote was 7 to 1 in opposition, there being seven adult locals and one youth local. During the next session the resolution was to legalize abortion and maintain free birth control clinics for all females over the age of 14. As a friend of mine once quipped, "Next thing you know people will be advocating the repeal of laws against necrophilia, as long as the act is between consenting adults."

The parents took this political behavior on the part of their 15- to 18-year-olds with considerable aplomb, though some of them may have been sitting for the first time in a democratic social situation that included a peer relationship with their children. They debated in a non-polemical manner; they did not patronize the young adults. In short, they behaved as democratic unionists should toward union brothers and sisters.

There are fewer Archie Bunkers among working people than contemporary social scientists would have us believe. Low-income, low-status groups in our society have consistently been characterized as authoritarian, punitive, friendless, incapable of deferring gratification, hostile, submissive, having feelings of political futility, being more

suggestible, having a devil theory of evil and (to strip away the last stereotype) deprived of sexual satisfaction. One wonders how a group so beset could run a democratic trade union movement or have such a consistently liberal voting record.

The future is hopeful for labor education. The Teamsters' program, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' expanded department, and the support of the Walter and May Reuther UAW Family Education Center by the UAW rank and file are only a few of the positive signs. The concept of the Family Education Center was Walter Reuther's but its financial implementation rested with Leonard Woodcock, who in a period of tough financial straits for the UAW coura-

geously called a special convention to divert 3 per cent of the locals' per capita income to Black Lake. These signs of support are heartening.

Recent attacks on American education as a whole are entirely unjustified; it fulfills its primary purpose very well. But that purpose is to reinforce the existing stratification system. Labor education cannot possibly rectify the misadventures of public education, but we must accept the responsibility for beginning the reform. We have a constituency that knows it is being short-changed by this society but cannot always prove it. The job of labor education is to reinforce the class position of our members, just as public education reinforces it for the middle class—a group pragmatic and terribly utilitarian to the last. □

3. Organizing the Unorganized

STEVE MURDOCK

Mr. Murdock, who formerly wrote on sports for a Wyoming newspaper, now edits the publication issued by Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union, in New York.

A veteran labor leader sat in his Manhattan office the other day and said the union movement in the United States should face the fact that it's a minority. The figures support him: only 23 per cent of the U.S. work force is organized into unions, and the proportion has been dropping in recent years. There are more than 20 million union members in the United States, and that's the most there have ever been, but the sobering consideration is that the total national work force is now at 86 million. As another veteran of labor's struggles has summed it up, "You have to do a tremendous amount of organizing just to stand still."

And "tremendous" is scarcely the word for the overall organizing drive. There are exceptions, of course, most notably among public workers who have been rushing to join the ranks. But when Edward P. Murphy of the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department can report in his Labor Day message that the U.S. labor market has been "eroded to the price of nearly one million men and women" in the last two years, it is easy to understand what the man meant by running to stay in place. Jobs are evaporating.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, is quoted elsewhere in this issue as being satisfied with the AFL-CIO's present 15.5 million members. The unions with the best growth records disagree. No union in today's fast-changing world can, they say, afford to sit on its per capita. "Organize the unorganized" is one of the labor movement's oldest slogans, but its application has for the most part been sporadic and cyclical. However, a few unions practice it almost like a religion, and they have found it an effective faith. If the hair shirt of organizing—and it's tough, nasty, demanding work—is worn long enough, they say, the rewards are not in heaven, but here

on earth in the joy, liberation and sense of united strength that characterize a union in growth.

Such evangelical concepts and rewards are for the super-dedicated. The consideration for the individual member is more pragmatic. What does union membership get him or her in dollars-and-cents security? In the competition for this worker, the ground rules for boss and union are at present weighted heavily on the side of the employer. Organizing the unorganized is far from impossible, but it's a lot tougher today than it was in labor's heyday, just after passage of the Wagner Act.

The spectacular exception to this tendency has been the growth in the unions of public workers. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, under Jerry Wurf; the Service Employees' International Union, AFL-CIO, under its new president, George Hardy; and the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, are examples of unions that have been making major progress in the public sector. District Council 37 of AFSCME is the largest union in New York City. The international union grew from 150,000 in 1956 to 364,486 in 1968.

Elliott Godoff, executive vice president of the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees, one of the unions with a solid growth record, says, "The weapons open to the employer are an invitation to paralysis." James J. Ma, general secretary-treasurer of the independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, says that passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 for a time brought union organizing almost to a halt. "It kind of cut it off with a knife." There has been a revival, but, again, with a few exceptions, not at the old pace.

In 1946, the year before Taft-Hartley, U.E. had 325,000 members. It organized, Matles recalls, between 46,000 and 50,000 workers that year. It had won 84 per cent of the National Labor Relations Board elections in which it had been involved, the highest percentage of any major

union in the country. The United Auto Workers were next with 60 per cent. That was under the Wagner Act, labor's Magna Carta.

In the wake of Taft-Hartley, says Matles, the CIO's organizing rate was not more than 10 per cent of what it had been at its peak. Employers, under the guise of deserving "equal time" with unions in the interest of "free speech," have won an advantage under Taft-Hartley that enables them to mount enormous and sophisticated anti-union campaigns. "Organizing under Taft-Hartley," says Matles, "is extremely difficult. The 'free speech' provisions give employers the advantage of captive meetings of employees and vast powers of intimidation. Today you have to have 60 to 65 per cent of the unit nailed down to have a chance of winning an election. You have to allow for a 15 per cent loss."

Godoff says much the same thing about organizing hospital workers. "We don't go into an election without a demonstration of strength." This may take the form of a "high noon" confrontation with management over a given issue, or some other tangible and highly visible manifestation of the union's muscle.

To the Taft-Hartley hazards must be added the fact that twenty-two states have so-called right-to-work laws which outlaw any form of required union membership. A whole business of anti-union attorneys, negotiators and consultants has flowered under these conditions. As a matter of fact, against this background the statistics of labor membership are something of a tribute to the tenacity of American working men and women. People are joining unions. It's amazing, but there is growth.

The Teamsters, perhaps the nation's most often prosecuted and publicly maligned union, have in the past nineteen years become the biggest union in the country. At last report they were at 1.8 million, and approaching 2 million. Of the six largest unions in the United States, only the Carpenters showed a numerical decline in 1968. So unions do grow, even though in percentage they are losing ground.

There are reasons for today's expansion. Public workers were organized to a degree in the 1930s, but never very effectively. Collective bargaining and signed contracts were generally beyond their grasp. Civil service was seen by the public as a substitute for unionism, and became the alibi of politicians. But over the years attitudes have changed; political opposition to the organization of public workers has eased, and enabling legislation has aided their unions. The dam of pent-up grievances has broken for public workers. "They're finally," says Matles, "going through what industrial workers went through in the thirties."

Except that "going through" is a process that has to be relived on each occasion. No organizer can assume he will be welcomed with open arms the minute he shows up outside an unorganized establishment, public or private. And union growth, as reflected in Department of Labor statistics, can be deceptive. Some of it occurs automatically through accretion clauses in contracts. A corporation with plans for expansion—say a retail chain—signs a contract containing a clause that gives the union rights of representation in yet unbuilt expansion units. All

the union need do—if it wants—is sit back and wait for the company to grow.

The weakness in this approach, say advocates of energetic organizing, is not so much in the accretion clause itself as in the temptation to inactivity it dangles before the union. "What happens," says one official dedicated to 1930s-style organizing, "is that the union . . . becomes, in effect, a working partner with management." This inhibits the kind of education and training needed to build an effective rank and file. It is what Matles calls, contemptuously, "business unionism" or "swivel chair unionism." The only kind of organizing that stands the test, say both Godoff and Matles, is based on a dedicated and committed rank and file.

The assumption that the working man and woman gain collective strength in a union is elementary to people who grew up during the depression and lived through the reality of the thirties and the great union surge it produced. But it is not, union organizers are finding, anything to be assumed today. "There is," says one veteran organizer, "low esteem among many unorganized workers for all of organized labor. They have heard so much—true or untrue—about racketeering, contract failure and no service that it makes it difficult for them to see the union as the champion of the workers. They just don't feel the unions are doing their utmost. An organizer can't simply say, 'Sign a card and we'll deliver.' They won't believe him." The labor movement, in short, has its own credibility gap.

On Labor Day, 1972, it seems appropriate to focus attention on Godoff and Matles. They are gadflies. Their roots are in the thirties, but their eyes are on the future. And they're still busy organizing. They typify those who challenge the Meany concept that what was good enough for Gompers is good enough for me.

Godoff, a one-time hospital pharmacist, has two jobs. He is an executive vice president and organizational director of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union, an affiliate of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO. He is also the guiding figure in the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees. The National Union is a division of the RWDSU, an outgrowth of Local 1199's success in organizing hospital workers in the New York City area. It gained 7,000 workers in sixty elections in 1971 alone. In the last three years it has organized 9,000 hospital workers in Pennsylvania, 6,000 in Maryland, 1,200 in Massachusetts, 1,000 in Connecticut, 500 in Ohio and 400 in the District of Columbia. When added to the union's 53,000 members in New York and New Jersey—plus contingents in Michigan and West Virginia—these new recruits make a total of 71,570. And organizing is now in progress in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Indiana. Godoff is qualified to talk about union growth.

Almost all of the National Union's gain has been in voluntary (nonprofit) hospitals, which are excluded from the protection of the National Labor Relations Board, although a bill has passed the House and is pending before the Senate to include them. Most of the new members have been won under the protection of state labor relations laws. "We've done it the hard way," says Godoff. Most

state laws give employers the same "rights" the NLRB does. By any yardstick, it has been tough organizing.

There are 1,387,000 workers in the nation's nonprofit hospitals. The Service Employees and 1199 (including its National Union) have enrolled most of those who are organized. The total isn't more than 200,000. If the new law passes, look for an acceleration in the already rapid pace of hospital organizing.

Matles, the lean, intense U.E. leader, has lived through a lot of labor history. His union was once the third largest in the CIO. Driven out of the CIO (although they left of their own volition) and divided by labor's own reprehensible witch hunt, U.E. still raises the battle cry of organize the unorganized. Cut by adversity to a membership of approximately 165,000, U.E. still reaches out into remote corners of the San Joaquin Valley of California or into the upper reaches of the Connecticut Valley in search of runaway plants or unorganized shops. And as often as not it wins them. A recent bulletin on organizing says, "We have stressed to every organizer that his first responsibility to this union is to organize the unorganized. Where an organizer has been tied up in servicing a local, we have worked out procedures to free him for organizing without injury to the local."

The tendency is to think of organizing as a process that works from the outside in. Actually, the most experienced organizers will tell you, the best organizing comes from the inside out. The measure of the union's strength is the quality of the committee inside. The union and its organizers are the supportive force.

That part of the organizing process hasn't changed. What has changed is the nature of work. U.S. industry has the labor movement in something of a state of confusion. When American Can announces, as it did recently, that it is closing nine plants and throwing almost 5,000 workers out of jobs, the pattern is clear. Five million workers, 5.5 per cent of the labor force, are out of work. Between 1969 and 1970, 6,000 jobs were lost in the manufacture of shoes and slippers. Radio and TV manufacturing imports cost 30,000 U.S. jobs in 1971. In the manufacture of electronic components 92,500 jobs were lost last year. Out of such insecurity can come turmoil and new thrusts within labor. One thrust could be to close the gap between the 23 per cent of the work force that is organized and the 77 per cent that is not. This would weld labor into a more cohesive unit better able to meet the challenge of runaway industry and automation.

Meanwhile, technological changes play havoc with the old crafts of the labor movement. A new breed of worker is emerging. The tape-controlled machine—whether it be in printing or in tool and dye work—requires an alert, intelligent operator capable of assimilating its complexities. "The work force," says Matles, "is changing. New—and higher caliber—skills are being substituted for old skills. Organizing those workers presents some challenges to a labor movement that thinks in the past."

These challenges are being faced in the presence of obstacles long familiar to students of the U.S. labor scene. There have always been two stumbling blocks in the movement: the South and the farm worker (to a degree, they overlap). Vast amounts of money, energy, devotion

—and a considerable number of lives—have been spent on both these areas, and in neither has the battle been won.

In North Carolina only 9 per cent of the labor force is organized, as compared to 49 per cent in New York and 52 per cent in Michigan. But unions are growing in the South, particularly in basic industry. The farm arena has witnessed recently the great flight of the black eagle, symbol of the United Farm Workers and Cesar Chavez. In the long and bloody history of farm worker organization, no one has come closer to a mass breakthrough than Chavez. Yet, despite encouraging foot-in-the-door first contracts and the effectiveness of the boycott technique (as in lettuce), old hands at labor organizing are still reserving judgment. The fact that farm workers have still not won NLRB protection, coupled with continuing uncompromising opposition by dominant agricultural interests, makes this an uphill fight. Still it must be marked on the plus side that those two great vacuums in labor's organizational spectrum, the South and the farm hands, are getting at least some of the attention they deserve.

Organizing in the basic sense has always been the hardest (and often most unrewarding) work in the labor movement. The organizer fights constantly against fear, one of the most demeaning of human emotions. Organizers, who despite popular belief often work at very modest salaries, must be at plant gates at 6 A.M. (or earlier) and still have the stamina for endless night meetings. They often have to write leaflets (and sometimes mimeograph them themselves). They are expected to become experts in labor law, particularly in the bureaucratic practices of the NLRB and assorted state counterparts. They are assumed to be at least minor league orators, fearless fighters when confronting the boss or hostile police, and paragons of wisdom in almost every field of human conflict.

Where, one may ask, does one find such examples of devotion these days? They were common in the 1930s; they inhabit the pages of *Industrial Valley* and *Waiting for Lefty*, but are they around now? Yes, though perhaps not in quite the same form. Many are young. Some are college graduates—drawn to labor by the same idealism that is reshaping politics and other institutions. Many are women. Some of the best organizers come off the job.

If the dedicated organizer painted above is at variance with the new stereotype of the silk-suited representative with a pocketful of credit cards, it is not to say both do not exist. The back-door, sweetheart contract also still exists. But the old style organizing is not dead. It has shifted from the gates of steel plants and the auto assembly lines to the classroom, the municipal typing pool, the hospital ward, the corridors of the nursing home, the police beat, the firehouse and the garbage truck.

The future, in the view of both Godoff and Matles, is far from bleak. "There are," says Godoff, "vast possibilities to organize workers throughout the country if there is a commitment and a desire to do so."

Speaking for a union that has had notable success in bringing black and Spanish-speaking workers into its ranks—at the same time that it has been organizing whites in Appalachia—Godoff suggests that eliminating racism in union leadership is a prerequisite to organizing

the nation's most exploited and underpaid working people.

"I have found," he says, "resistance to organization in areas where the ethnic composition is strange to the existing leadership." He tells of white organizers who complain that they can't communicate with black workers. "This attitude is essentially racist. I think it's a far greater deterrent to organization than right-to-work laws."

Matles talks more in terms of "realignment in the labor movement related to the political and economic situation in the country." He thinks the unions in the mass production industries are still key. He sees U.S. industry and the U.S. economy in terms of the giant corporations that control it.

He looks for a resurgence of rank-and-file militancy,

sparked by young workers. His eyes flash and the sentences tumble out as he tells of contracts rejected by a young rank and file, and youthful revolts against production-line speed-up. He sees a new day, and to him it is not far off.

Meany may be complacent and satisfied with his 15.5 million; there may be great cynicism about organized labor in general; the vast total of unorganized workers may not be melting the way it should. But there are people out there working at it. They're organizing hospital workers, computer operators, janitors, machinists, maintenance men or, as one leader put it, "anything that moves." A lot of the workers are now organizing themselves. □

THE SPACE SHUTTLE'S REAL COST

REP. LES ASPIN

Mr. Aspin (D., Wis.), serving his first term in Congress, holds a Ph.D. in Economics from M.I.T.

Washington

About the last thing this country needs now is a \$40 billion-plus reusable space vehicle disguised as a \$5 billion-plus reusable space vehicle. Yet Congress has made a \$379 million down payment for precisely that, and many larger installment payments are due to follow. NASA, with sophisticated public relations efforts and gimmicks, has so far had easy success in selling a guillible public and Congress on the space shuttle.

The shuttle is planned as a reusable, delta-shaped space vehicle designed to launch satellites into orbit and return to an airport landing as many as a hundred times. The satellites which the shuttle is to launch include weather, communications, intelligence and many other types.

NASA has sold the shuttle to Congress on the basis of three primary arguments. First, that the shuttle will result in significant savings in launching satellites (compared to what, is a little vague). Second, NASA has appealed to our national pride and has even resurrected the "Russians-are-coming" argument, which can still be used with great effect in Congress. Third, NASA has argued that many needed jobs will be created by the shuttle project. These three arguments have been so skillfully deployed by space agency spokesmen that NASA has been able to convince Congress to buy the package on the basis of the wrapping.

NASA says the space shuttle will cost \$5.1 billion, and asserts that the space shuttle's primary objective is a new manned transportation capability at *substantial cost reduction*. But what many Congressmen and others don't seem to realize is that the \$5.1 billion estimate—and it is a very rough estimate—covers only the cost of the *development* of the space shuttle, not its operation and use.

What will be the real cost of the space shuttle? NASA

estimates a \$5.1 billion development cost for two shuttles, which may or may not be operational, depending upon which spokesman is talking. The agency projects some 580 launches over the next twelve years. Accepting the prediction of a 100-mission role for each shuttle, at least four and possibly six more shuttles will have to be built at a cost of \$400 million each. Assuming that only four more shuttles are needed, this would add \$1.6 billion to the \$5.1 billion development cost.

But with this we have only bought the operational space shuttles. It will cost something to launch them. Five hundred and eighty launches at NASA's estimate of \$10 million per launch adds an additional \$5.8 billion over the next twelve years. We thus arrive at a total of \$12.5 billion.

But there is more. Payload cost must be included. The shuttle is capable of carrying 65,000 pounds of payload and many of the space shuttle's "economies" are based on the assumption that each shuttle will be filled to capacity. Multiplying 65,000 pounds of payload by 580 launches gives us 37.7 million pounds. But let's be conservative and figure that only a little more than half, say 20 million pounds, of the capacity is utilized. At present, each pound of payload costs about \$20,000; NASA predicts, perhaps optimistically, that the shuttle will slash the payload cost to between \$1,000 to \$2,000 per pound. Then, even using NASA's most optimistic projections, payload cost would add another \$20 billion to the cost of the shuttle, giving us a total of \$32.5 billion.

But we are still not through. This very conservative estimate assumes that NASA's very rough figures on the component costs of the shuttle are accurate. Cost overruns today are the rule, of course, and also many knotty technological problems remain to be solved before the shuttle will be even operational. As the General Accounting Office pointed out in a recent report, new projects experience an *average* cost overrun of 40 per cent. While it is impossible to estimate how much more than \$32.5 billion the shuttle will actually cost over the next twelve years, one thing is certain: NASA's estimates do not overstate the ultimate costs of the shuttle.

This is not to say that we could save \$32.5 billion by denying the appropriations for the shuttle. Some of this money will be spent in any case, unless we reduce the space budget to zero. But the point is that we are, by appropriating a few hundred million dollars in these early years, committing ourselves to a long-run space program which will cost *at least* \$32.5 billion.

We know that the shuttle will be expensive—far more, I believe, than many Congressmen bargained for and more than NASA will publicly admit. Since it is not much of a bargain, the question naturally arises: exactly what are we going to use this shuttle for? The answer is to launch satellites into space—communications satellites, weather satellites, intelligence satellites and others. The shuttle is designed to carry a 65,000 pound payload. At fifty launches per year, the shuttle will launch better than 3 million pounds of satellite payload into space per year.

This is an incredible total compared with past years. In 1969 and 1971, for instance, both big years for space, 390,000 pounds and 452,000 pounds were launched respectively. Thus it would appear that we are building a vehicle with about ten times the capacity needed. To be sure, there were military missions in each of those years, whose payload information was classified, but there is no way that the military could begin to use such a large payload capacity without having something up their sleeve that we do not yet know about.

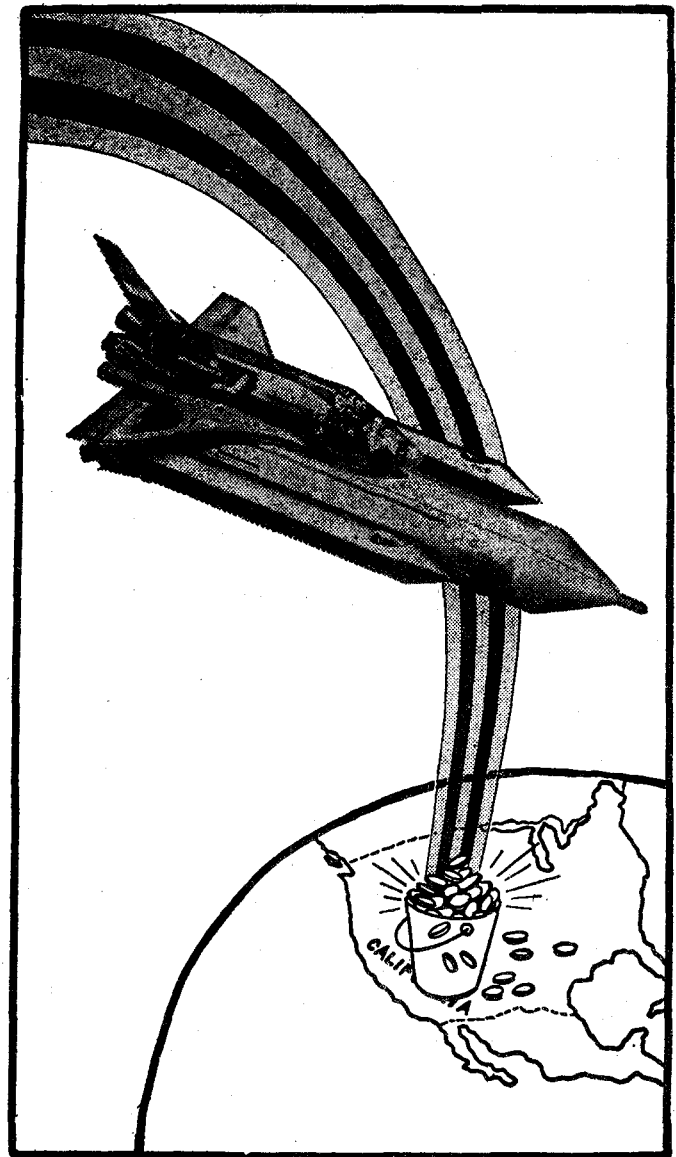
The role of the military in the shuttle is somewhat ambiguous. For example, while the military will benefit from the space shuttle, no military funds are being used to help develop it. Air Force Secretary Robert Seamans likes the shuttle, wants it for the Air Force's use, and is ready to defend it, but he does not want to commit Air Force funds to its development. He gives the shuttle a very low priority, placing it behind the F-15 and the B-1 bomber. Nevertheless NASA, to accommodate the Air Force, has increased payload capacity from 25,000 to 65,000 pounds, also increasing thrust and making other technical changes at the military's behest. If you press NASA enough they will admit, "In a sense we are saving money for the military."

Not surprisingly, in an era of changing temperature in the cold war, NASA approaches this military argument very delicately, at times sacrificing consistency. Dr. James C. Fletcher, NASA administrator, recently intoned: "My biggest concern is what the Russians will be doing. Will they have some spectaculars? . . . that's another reason it is so important to continue an orderly development of the shuttle without delay." Clearly, NASA hopes that the "Russians-are-coming" argument will work as well in selling the shuttle as it did in selling Apollo. However, NASA knows that times change, and has been known to play down the military role, emphasizing the shuttle as an aid to international cooperation, particularly with the Soviets.

At any rate, a yet to be revealed military role is one possible reason for the tremendous capacity of the shuttle. Another possibility is the use of the shuttle in connection with a space station, something that NASA presumably has agreed to abandon. After long advocating a space station program, with an estimated cost of \$3 billion,

NASA was forced to eliminate that item from its budget request when opposition arose. But in a few years, the agency is very likely to argue that with the space shuttle operational, the space station becomes logical, and that even more "economies" would result if we build it. In other words, NASA may be hoping and expecting the shuttle to serve as the camel's nose under the tent and lead to expanded space programs beyond anything currently foreseen.

None of NASA's arguments is more spurious than its assertion that the space shuttle will have an important beneficial effect on employment. NASA estimates that the



Fred Schwab, New York Times

\$5.1 billion for development of the shuttle will create 20,000 jobs or so, rising to 50,000 in the peak years of 1975-76. What NASA is really arguing here, of course, is that government spending creates jobs, and therefore government spending is good per se.

This is, of course, patent nonsense; the end result of what we are spending money on is just as important.

Government spending creates jobs, but money can be spent in productive ways (e.g., education, pollution control, etc.) or in wasteful ways (e.g., digging holes and filling them in again).

Second, spending money in some industries creates more jobs than in others. In terms of jobs created, space is the least productive way to spend money. It even beats out defense spending. Using NASA's figures of \$5.1 billion for development of the shuttle which creates 50,000 jobs means that for every \$1 billion spent, 10,000 jobs will be created. To look at some other examples: \$1 billion spent on school construction creates 50,000 jobs; the same spent in public housing creates 76,000 jobs; in public service, \$1 billion creates 132,000 jobs; defense spending creates 35,000 jobs for every \$1 billion spent. In other words, spending billions on the space shuttle for a relative handful of jobs isn't much of a bargain. If there is a justification for the space shuttle, it does not lie in beneficial impact on employment.

LETTERS (Continued from page 130)

New York. When the Puerto Rican voters went to the court chamber they were made to wait for many hours, while others, who favored Rooney, were taken to the judges and given their certification immediately. Still other Puerto Ricans were turned away from the polls after waiting more than an hour because voting machines had broken down or because there was only one voting machine in each Puerto Rican election district. Those voters who did manage to cast their votes were pressured and intimidated at the polling places by Rooney poll captains. The result was that Rooney won by a narrow margin. . . .

Before coming to your country, I had read about some difficulties in your society, but I certainly didn't expect to witness an unfair election where the entire election machinery was controlled and manipulated for the advantage of one candidate against the other.

It is encouraging to see Al Lowenstein and the people of this community continue their effort by challenging this election in the courts. I hope that when other people around the country find out about what has happened in Brooklyn, they will help get this undemocratic election overturned.

Carlos Zayas

infernal medicine

Toronto, Canada

DEAR SIR: The *New York Times* asked a white Southerner to comment on the forty-year-old "scientific" research project conducted by the U. S. Public Health Service with the use of human guinea pigs. The "experiment" involved the recruitment of 400 semi-literate, poor black men, afflicted with syphilis, who "agreed" to forgo treatment for the disease in return for free "medical care" for non-syphilitic conditions, for free hot lunches and for free burials—after autopsies—those presumably free as well. The white Southerner observed: "The worst segregationist in Alabama would never have done this."

To those of us who acted as civil rights lawyers in the South, the white Southerner's response represents the stark and compelling truth. Who indeed could have done this? Nazi doctors, of course, hanged under the Nuremberg principles for crimes against the human race in experiments at times more merciful than those of the syphilis study of the Public Health Service. Clearly this act of the PHS of premeditated mass murder has been carried out by doctors whose commitment to the ideology of a public order of human dignity was as slipshod as the scientific

NASA, to be sure, has arguments other than these to justify the shuttle, but they become progressively less convincing. NASA says that the shuttle will allow us to repair satellites in space—but satellites are obsolete within a very few years' time, thanks to rapid technology. NASA says that we can prevent losses in space because with the shuttle we can make flight corrections—but how many losses do you need to justify spending \$32.5 billion on a shuttle? NASA even says that with a shuttle we can rescue men from space—but without a shuttle there will be no men in space to rescue.

Understandably, with the Apollo program at an end, NASA dearly wants a new manned space program. But it is harder to understand why Congress is eager to buy such a program. The shuttle will be expensive, nobody's quite sure exactly what it will be used for or how much of its payload capacity will be utilized. And if we want to create jobs almost anything else makes much more sense. □

character of their experiment. Clearly it could be committed again by like men of like moral standing.

It is part of the American tragedy that those who initiated, supervised, funded and concealed this outrage will continue to enjoy the "benefit of clergy" accorded to their protégés by the health bureaucracy and the medical politicians specializing in "grantsmanship"—a gentry all too often aligned with the liberal establishment.

Richard Arens, Faculty of Law
University of Toronto

Philadelphia's bloc party

Willow Grove, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Apropos your sharp analysis of the "Catholic vote" [editorial, Aug. 7], here is a case in point: Philadelphia. To win Pennsylvania, it is generally recognized that McGovern must win Philadelphia by 250,000 votes. Enter Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo, an ethnic Catholic, self-avowed representative of the "little guy. . . ." Fitting the Kevin Phillips thesis perfectly, Rizzo won the black-threatened, Jewish-Polish-Irish-Slav-Italian-Catholic vote. Blacks switched over to the Republican, Longstreth, along with center city sophisticates, students and outer city affluent. . . . This "representative of the little guy" proceeds to strike up a friendship with President Nixon, whom he promptly calls "the greatest President we have ever had. . . ."

Rumor has it that Rizzo is backing Nixon in order to get the FBI directorship, or federal funds for a few legions of police. He has announced that if McGovern wins, he will "move to Australia. . . ." Talk about John Connally being a political schizophrenic. Former Democratic Mayor James Tate has called Rizzo a "Benedict Arnold"; the city party leaders are in open revolt.

Enter Cardinal Krol. A few months ago Nixon visited Philadelphia (mainly Rizzo and Krol) and promised to get state aid for the troubled parochial school system, the second largest in the nation. The ultimate cynicism would be for Nixon to convert to Catholicism. ("Washington, D.C. is worth a Mass.")

J. Hartman

correction

In our August 21st editorial "Trouble with the Reactors," a printer's error eluded us. The 1,000-megawatt generator "Big Allis" was described as accounting for "well over 100 per cent" of Con Ed's generating capacity. The correct figure is, of course, 10 per cent.

Editors

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Bird Flight, Sky Glow, the Set of the Swell

POLYNESIAN SEAFARING: A Disquisition on Prehistoric Celestial Navigation and the Nature of Seagoing Double Canoes. By Edward Dodd. Dodd, Mead & Co. 187 pp. \$17.50.

ALEXANDER LAING

Mr. Laing was granted a Guggenheim Fellowship to study the long voyages of the Polynesians. At present, he is at work on a biography of Commodore William Bainbridge.

When John Cawte Beaglehole prepared the ultimate revision of his *Exploration of the Pacific*, not long before his recent death, he let stand the third sentence of its first edition of 1934: "Nor can it do what any final book on the subject must do, and discuss the story from the native standpoint as well as the European." It may seem odd that an era teeming with proliferations of ethnohistoric method, that has used glottochronology to hold the carbon daters in line all over Polynesia, should have evoked no talented response to a clear challenge of thirty-seven years ago from the foremost scholar in the subject. The rub comes of a need for high development, in one person, of two hostile disciplines. Traditional historians of the West have been trained to address themselves to fragments of information, however absurdly discontinuous, that by luck have slid past time's shredders to persist in written form. Minds content within such random limits are ill-equipped to deal with records of ancient seafaring in the Pacific that were treasured up on purpose, for the most practical reasons, through the exercise and remorseless testing of nothing but memory, attuned to musical and prosodic form. It was not a perfectly reliable system; neither is the one that has saved scraps of inconsistent writing to make us wonder what kind of man or monster Richard Crookback was. We have long been resigned to the problems of using written sources. Those of the mnemonic method still bother some of us very much.

Te Rangi Hiroa, half-Maori, half-Irish anthropologist, probably the only author of note well trained in both disciplines, was the likeliest candidate for the task posited by Beaglehole; but Te Rangi chose quite properly to stress the recovery of fast-vanishing mnemonic data. He left mostly to others the chores of synthesis. Advance rumors of Edward Dodd's

handsomely made book tickled a hope that this yachtsman and intermittent resident of Polynesia might at least have compounded, out of the turbulent last decade or two in Pacific ethnography, a belated sort of prelude for use with Beaglehole's history, which begins late with Magellan. Although that hope is not fulfilled—the jumbled contents of *Polynesian Seafaring* resemble those of a typical sea bag at the end of a two-day reach offshore—Dodd's book serves some useful purposes. It calls to general notice, in an uncomplicated way, a theoretical wrangle centering in the *Journal* of the Polynesian Society over a simplistic hypothesis refurbished some sixteen years ago by Andrew Sharp to explain the presence, on remote Pacific islands, of similar people speaking slight variants of the same language. It is also probably the most comprehensive source in print of illustrative evidence on the structure of traditional deep-sea craft built in the islands.

Accidental voyages have been discussed by many writers, old and new, as one of several probably concurrent explanations of the peopling of the Pacific outposts. Sharp, a chair-fast nautical theorist, has been defending against some notably spray-drenched antagonists his conviction that accident is the only explanation. Fishermen were blown away, travelers between nearby islands were storm-swept into unknown seas. Although he has made small concessions, Sharp in his rebuttals as in his primary monograph has ridiculed the notion that "prehistoric celestial navigation"—the phrase in Dodd's subtitle—ever was practiced at all. Evidence to the contrary has been available since the days of James Cook, two centuries ago, but its inconsistencies and puzzles are so bothersome to Sharp that he discards such testimony entirely. It is a little like saying that, because conflicting accounts of Richard III's alleged murders remain irreconcilable, the king did not exist.

Dodd's massive bibliography includes most of the relevant basic works, along with some oddities not justifiable at the cost of important omissions. Some points that he strives to establish would be helped by evidence from the Nuku Hiva digs of Robert Suggs, whose reports are nowhere mentioned. Neither is the Polynesian Society, even when Dodd refers

us to its seminal *Symposium on Andrew Sharp's Theory of Accidental Voyaging*, issued nine years ago. Some bibliographical notes raise a doubt that items listed by the author have really been explored. Hawkesworth, for instance, is called "the chief proponent of the great 'southern continent' theory," an odd label for the amiable hack whom the actual "chief proponent," Alexander Dalrymple, attacked so intemperately for differing with him. There is no mention of Dalrymple. A few bloopers of this kind merit notice because it is too bad that Dodd did not hold to a modest undertaking in his foreword: "Your writing," he quotes an anonymous "authority" as having said, "is a lot of healthy speculating founded upon first hand knowledge of the Polynesian seas and of Polynesian character, and on second hand knowledge of the history and culture." Although the author adds, "This book pretends to be no more than that," pretension creeps over it in a display of apparatus and of authorities that can at the kindest be called sporadic. Dodd is neither as disciplined nor as dull as most of the scholars in this field; he should have presented his book for what it really is, an exercise in love and imagination. He takes care to mention that Thor Heyerdahl's theorizing "was patiently suffered and quietly discredited by the scientists," but his own approaches are nearer to Heyerdahl's than to those of his discreditors. The quality of his argument descends to such passages as this:

So, then, this seafarer who dared the mighty ocean deeps was born, *perhaps*, of gentleness and fear, *more likely* of a desire for independence and escape, with *supposedly* an admixture of the patient traits extending over generations that *must have gone* into the genesis of the green thumb.

The italics are the reviewer's. Passages of considerable cogency too often end up in this sort of compounded supposition.

And yet, what Dodd is trying his best to do does need doing. The waters roiled up by landsman Sharp to the annoyance of practiced seafarers, and by adventurer Heyerdahl to the anguish of Ph.D.s, invite renewal of our old hope to understand what prior man has been, and what as a consequence he has done. The classical effort, for the ancient Polynesian seas, culminated thirty-five years ago in Te Rangi Hiroa's *Vikings of the Pacific*, based somewhat apologetically in the

problem-riddled but still unignorable genealogies and other chants. Since then, archaeology and the newer dating techniques have made startling adjustments in the calendar. Heyerdahl and David Lewis, expressing the wishful hero in all of us, have bent sheer adventure to the ends of knowledge, but most of the gains are scattered in a hundred monographs. A new synthesis is overdue.

Dodd, in his book, undertakes two of the most important parts of this large task: a survey of evidence for employment in the Pacific, prior to the European incursions, of a system of navigation as effective as that developed in the Atlantic before the perfecting of chronometers; and a review of the mnemonic and pictorial evidence of the building and use of large ships in Polynesia. "Canoes" is a patronizing word. Here we are considering vessels capable of surviving a variety of weathers encountered on the way from various Havaikis to the farthest points of the huge triangle of islands.

The first of these two efforts ably exposes the foolishness of trying to approach the idea of an alternative system of long-voyage navigation without scrubbing from our narrow minds a globe of known curvature, scored with supposedly invisible lines that haunt us nevertheless like ineradicable scratches whenever we think about geography. Dodd rebukes Sharp for his obsession with a Polynesian navigator's inability to determine his "position" after being blown off course. But "position," arrived at by crossing two additional lines, has no reality whatever on a watery surface lacking the prior latitudes and longitudes that are Ptolemy's fictions. At this point a mind locked in cosmic orthodoxy, like Sharp's, rejects further inquiry as fantasy, and a less encumbered mind like Dodd's can begin.

Flights of migrating birds, the persistent set of waves in trade-wind seasons, sky glow and cloud forms over distant land, are elements of the alternative system that shared with Europe the repetitive motions of objects in the sky. Beyond these, and here Dodd becomes almost as cautious as his chosen opponents, there is the problem of lost or vestigial perceptions. When the eminent Raiatean geographer, Tupaia, sailed to England in the *Endeavor*, he always could point instantly to Tahiti without recourse to the compass. His host, Capt. James Cook, tested him again and again, under cloudy skies, with the ship headed in various directions, but could not learn how it was done. Tupaia himself may have been no better equipped to explain than the bob-tailed godwit, straightening out on a true course, over a thousand watery miles, for New Zealand. Dodd

makes a good case for a fore-and-aft star system to hold to a course or recover it without anomalous geometrical "fixes" producing a "position."

A large gathering of pictures of deep-water Polynesian ships and lesser craft is the indisputable merit of this disputatious book. Many are the primary archival sketches that were arbitrarily altered by faraway engravers of the long-familiar illustrations in the atlas volumes and portfolios accompanying the *Voyages* of Cook and others. As a sailor, Dodd calls to notice some evidences of faulty observation even in the original drawings. I should have liked to see here Kenneth Emory's wonderful photograph of a late, large Vahitahi deep-water vessel that vividly reveals the sewn planking. But Dodd's alternative choice is a fine one: three photographs of the small canoe in the British Museum, brought from the Tuamotus by Wallis in 1767, an incomparable artifact. A reproduction, at almost full scale, of Cook's superb draft of a 108-foot double-hulled ship on the ways at Tahiti points up the silliness of calling all products of the Pacific shipwrights "canoes." Most famous European vessels of exploration, up to that time, had been considerably shorter. Sharp willfully argued that these double-hulled vessels were not weatherly, af-

POETRY EDITOR

With this issue of *The Nation*, Grace Schulman becomes the magazine's poetry editor. She succeeds Robert Hazel, who has resigned to devote himself to his writing. The editors are grateful for his vigorous service to the magazine.

A contributor to *The Nation*, Grace Schulman has published poems and articles in literary journals and has written a study of the poetry of Marianne Moore. She is an assistant professor of English at Baruch College, The City University of New York.

though both Cook and George Robertson of the *Dolphin* noted, with wonder and chagrin, that some of them quite literally sailed circles around European ships with a good rap full.

One serious negative aspect of this book should not be overlooked in the case of an author long concerned in the profession of publishing. Although *Polynesian Seafaring* is well designed and made by the standards of this sad twilight of letterpress, it needed a good editor's attention in the two usual senses—large and small—and got it in neither.

Two Poems by W.S. Merwin

THE WRITING ON A FALLEN LEAF

*The frost will come out under the stars
the falcons will grow thin as their voices
the fox will pretend to be old
the owl will bathe at night in the snow
the tracks of the hare will be empty shadows
I will forget*

TRAVELLING

*One travels
to learn how not to look back
hearing the doors fall down the stairs
and the tongues like wet feathers in a high wind

only in the present are the voices
however far they travel
and fires raising hands between echoes

out of words one travels
but there are words along the road waiting
like parents' grandparents
we have heard of but never seen

each with its column of smoke
and its horizon beyond which nothing is known
and its sun*

Its amiable spill of self-indulgent writing should have been organically structured, with the passages of rambling guesswork rewritten. And it should have been cleansed of errors in spelling, syntax and usage, when it was prepared for the printer. ("Brittanica"—p. 12; "One of the younger anthropologists who is testing"—p. 181; "great size is no perquisite of ability to travel great distances"—p. 73.) There are many statements that may mean what they say; if so, the reader would be saved from uncertainty by clearer rephrasing: ("the chances of survival must have been at least one in a hundred, perhaps one in a thousand."—p. 16). The most curious evidence of editorial laxity is the use of the contemporary "f" for the antique letter form of "s" in some long quotations ("They make ufe of thefe alfo to fpare better clothes."

—p. 155). In the lamented days when type was made of metal a few touches of the chisel to the right side of the crossbar of each "f" would have made a fair approximation of the antique "s." Nowadays it takes only a mote of Chinese white on the photolith copy, but nobody bothered to correct this foolifhneff.

Recently I received news of a young friend's resignation from one of the wealthiest big-board publishing conglomerates. He was going back to magazine editing because "it was an uncomfortable shock to realize that book publishers are by and large too poor to afford the luxury of editors who do more than swallow their quota of martinis." With his own book in mind, Mr. Dodd well might initiate a reform movement in what used to be a proud profession, not a corner-cutting industry. □

A New Species—Pentagonal Man

INSIDE THE COLONELS' GREECE.
By "Athenian." W. W. Norton & Co.
216 pp. \$6.95.

SPYRIDON GRANITSAS

Mr. Granitsas is a free-lance journalist and foreign correspondent. He is a holder of the Sigma Delta Chi Award for distinguished reporting of the U.N.

Early in the 19th century, while Greece was still under Ottoman rule, a book *Elliniki Nomarhia* (Greek Legality) appeared in Greece and in Greek. It was a profound and critical analysis of the evils of slavery. And it was written anonymously out of fear of the Sultan in Constantinople or the local Pasha and his murderous agents.

In 1970, another Greek wrote anonymously *Inside the Colonels' Greece*, with substantially the same motif, albeit better documented—but with an ominous difference: he wrote it in French and had it printed abroad. So the Greeks cannot read it, as Colonel Papadopoulos' rule is even more cruel than that of the Turk. Now this book, with pertinent revisions and additions by Richard Clogg, has appeared in English. And thereby hangs another tale: "I am particularly gratified to see my book translated into English, the more so since it is going to be published in the United States," writes the author, and he adds: "Had I been given the choice, English would have been the first language in which it would have appeared. There is a specific and cogent reason for this. . . ."

As we read on, the reason becomes abundantly clear: if a long and bloody

civil war is to be avoided, the ousting of the dictatorship in Greece, the only European and NATO country where this kind of Latin American, nonideological junta has been imposed, depends on the United States. That thesis is supported by most Greeks, rightists and royalists, centrists, liberals and leftists—except the hard-core Communists.

The author, a confessed pro-West intellectual, in a well-balanced and dispassionate account of the events leading to the coup of April 1967, blames not only the "foreign factor" (the Americans) but also the Greek politicians. He is especially harsh about the Communists and, perhaps, gratuitously so about Prof. Andreas Papandreou, a leading left-of-center politician now living in Toronto.

There is no denying that Professor Papandreou, the Communists, the royalists and other public figures made many mistakes. But their policies, and even their grave errors, were not the *causa proxima* of the dictatorship. For there was a military conspiracy afoot for several years before Papandreou had even returned to Greece in 1961, following his more than twenty years of residence in the United States. This writer, as a U.S. correspondent for the leading Athens daily *Eleftheria* (closed on that fateful night of April 21, 1967), reported from Washington on this subject as early as the spring of 1963. Others have traced the conspiracy as far back as the early 1950s.

Inside the Colonels' Greece is not only impeccably documented, save in the case of some details that might compromise

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*World

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the anonymity of the sources, but also extremely well written. It reads like a political novel. The book is divided into the following chapters, which disclose the reasoning of the author (who is a well-known figure among Greek political expatriates and is probably equally well known to the Pashas in Athens): Part I—The Past, Or How It All Came About; Part II—The Present, Or What It Is Like; and Part III—The Future, Or How To Get Rid of Them.

In Part II, "Style and Ideology," possibly the best chapter, in describing the *Homo militaris*, the writing becomes painfully funny as it recounts the actions, and records the statements of the bizarre and illiterate Papadopoulos. The author explains that those who object to the term *Homo militaris* on the ground "that it is not a separate species but a subspecies of *Homo sapiens*, evidently do not know the Greek colonels." Yet, those colonels are not simply comic figures; they have instituted a terror network, tortured political prisoners, maintained martial law for more than five years ("something of a world record"), abolished human rights—the list of their cruelties is almost endless. "Greece today is a Kafkaesque world," writes the author in another excellent chapter, "The Great Fear."

But there was no fear in the brave

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heart of Vice President Spiro Agnew, when he decided to visit his ancestral land last fall, nor in that of Secretary of State William Rogers, when he decided to celebrate the Fourth of July in Athens this year. Fear is for the natives only. Those visits, of course, strengthened the belief that Washington is behind the most unpopular, and possibly the most corrupt, regime in Europe. The author, as well as other sources, estimates that no more than 10 per cent of the Greeks support it.

If one were to disagree with "Athenian," it would be primarily on the ground of his historical account. As we said earlier, the conspiracy existed

long before the "chaos" was conveniently invented; it existed in a "Pentagon Paper" which came into the hands of this writer years before the scarecrow of a Communist take-over was invoked. It was a "strategic" plan for the imposition of dictatorship on practically any country aided militarily by the United States—from Brazil to Turkey. To its discredit, unfortunately, the then free Greek press refused to believe—and to publish—this document.

In other words, the current dictatorship in Greece is a fairly new and unbelievable phenomenon—at least in the European context. It has its roots not in Greek history but in that new species: *Homo militaris pentagonicus*. □

Who's Hurt? Who's to Blame?

HOAX: The Inside Story of the Howard Hughes-Clifford Irving Affair. By Stephen Fay, Lewis Chester and Magnus Linklater. The Viking Press. 32 pp. of photographs. 310 pp. \$10.

CHARLES LAM MARKMANN

Mr. Markmann, a frequent contributor, is a journalist, critic, novelist and translator. His latest book is *The Buckleys*, which will be published in 1973 by William Morrow & Co.

Edith and Clifford Irving have been sentenced in a deal quite as shoddy as their own transactions, and it would be bathetic to romanticize them. This mistitled book—for the "affair" never directly involved Howard Hughes at all—by a star troika of *The Sunday Times* of London errs neither in this direction nor in that of abusing them, though it cannot conceal the distaste that any cultivated person must feel toward these hoaxers *manqués* and their greedy real victims. Where *Hoax* does err, however, is in its view of Hughes as such a victim, and in its conclusion that "Howard Hughes and Clifford Irving deserved each other." (The publishers go beyond the authors: "the basic question," the Viking Press assures us on the jacket, is "whether or not Howard Hughes deserved to be hoaxed." We are not told how one earns hoaxing.)

It would be quite accurate, on the strength of this book, to say that it was Irving and his publishers—hard-cover, soft-cover and magazine—who deserved each other: had he not been exposed, they would have been not his victims but his accomplices in victimizing the customers who bought the fake in the belief that it was genuine. Let us not forget that, when this particular cesspool spilled over last winter and *The New York Times* polled some of the emi-

nences of book publishing, all of them, with the uniquely honorable exception of Roger W. Straus, Jr., president of Farrar, Straus & Giroux—"The avarice and stupidity of McGraw-Hill is not to be believed," he said—formed a human-all-too-human wall round McGraw-Hill like U.S. Senators protecting a colleague trapped *en déshabillé* in a raid on a den of vice.

Apart from their own egregious appraisal of the hoax, to which they ascribe "historic dimensions," Messrs. Fay, Chester and Linklater have done an extremely workmanlike job of tracing and correlating all the facts that could be found concerning the attempt to defraud not Howard Hughes but McGraw-Hill, Time-Life and anyone else who might be greedy enough to be suckered by a scheme to exploit the prurient curiosity of the American public and the rapacity of those whose business it is to scratch that itch with word and picture. The authors of *Hoax*, though they make no effort to hide their distaste for all the principals in this shabby affair, are always scrupulous with fact. What interested the merchants of letters—McGraw-Hill, Time-Life, the Book-of-the-Month Club, Dell Publishing—was not literature or history: it was dollars. There was apparently a durable if puzzling superstition among leaders of the magazine and book industries to the effect that an "inside story" about Howard Hughes would be a dollar factory—that hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of readers would gladly pay out money for the same. Such was the folk belief among the men of "the media," and Clifford Irving decided that he was going to build that dollar factory.

The authors of *Hoax* show how amaz-

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Aside from naming some of our celebrated contributors like Paul Ehrlich, Ellen Peck, Jacques-Yves Cousteau, Ray Bradbury and Buckminster Fuller, and mentioning a few interesting ideas like organic burial, safe toys, paper made from sugar-cane and no-fault birth control, there is very little else that space permits us to say about the complex and controversial struggle for environmental quality--except that we're in it up to our gas-masks.

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ingly often he merely improvised, and how frequently Hughes's own efforts to avoid publicity redounded to Irving's benefit. It was Irving's special good luck, too, to be able to profit by the labors of disgruntled retainers and former retainers of Hughes. Their intense involvement in their own ends, which were not always noble, tended to favor Irving's. Indeed, if one of these disaffected vassals had not been so harassed by his profligacies and his creditors that he did not always watch where he was going, Irving's fraud might never have been discovered until its actual publication. Apparently, however, Irving relied so heavily on Hughes's almost pathological aversion to publicity that he expected him to do nothing even when the fabrication should appear; or else the writer's confidence in his own forgeries—of Hughes's handwriting as well as of his life and times—was blinding in its dazzle. Or, perhaps, he simply did not look so far ahead.

It is true that none of the buyers of the book, had it been published, would have suffered substantial financial loss. But there is another kind of fraud that has nothing to do with money. Witness those friends of the Irvings in the Hotel Chelsea and on the island of Ibiza who acclaimed them, in interviews with the authors of *Hoax*, as modern folk heroes, superbly imaginative revolutionaries, Robin Hoods of the disinterested rip-off for the principle of the thing.

To get back to Hughes, who was, one might say, Irving's raw material, or semi-finished goods: had Irving succeeded, he would have invaded Hughes's privacy, and very possibly circulated lies about him. But there would have been, of course, no question of defrauding him, since Irving was scrupulous about one thing—avoiding any contact with Hughes. This brings us to an issue that the publishers of *Hoax* purport to raise—whether the powerful rich man has the right “to impose his unique concept of privacy in an open society.” One questions the good faith of this oversimplification. The authors of *Hoax* dilate on Hughes's efforts to prevent both the unwarranted exposure of his personal life—in which there is indeed no conceivable legitimate public interest—and the proper

disclosure of his acts and utterances as a man who can and does control large sectors of public life, dominate local or regional politics, impose his own notions of what constitutes “enough” employment for people of the wrong color—to take only a few examples of the public powers of a Howard Hughes. Irving, however, proposed to specify, and McGraw-Hill and the rest to publish in detail, the history of Hughes's erotic life, in search of which Irving wine and dined any likely informant. And anyone who has ever contemplated a book about a public figure knows how insistent publishers are

on the inclusion of such juicy bits, and how irritably pessimistic they turn when an author rejects the role of scandal-monger.

“In what way,” the Viking Press asks, “should publishers and readers evaluate Clifford Irving?” The answer is not unrelated to the identity of the victims. Irving and his would-be accomplices are as much victims of the society in which they flourish as that society would have been theirs. The hoaxer, his collaborators, his added admirers and apologists are the artifacts of a culture that has long passed its noon. □

Local Muse Makes Good

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS: *The American Background.* By Mike Weaver. Cambridge University Press. 228 pp. \$9.50.

HARRIET ZINNES

Mrs. Zinnes teaches creative writing and modern literature at Queens College, New York. She has published two volumes of verse, and a third is in preparation.

An English reviewer recently observed that William Carlos Williams is an “acquired taste,” while an American poet has commented that the poetry of Williams “has in the minds of many Americans not only overtaken Eliot's but supplanted it.” (“Many Americans” still do not read poetry—but we'll let that go.) It is understandable that Williams should be acceptable to American readers, however, for the poet who died in 1963 at the age of 80 had devoted his life to making poetry specifically out of the “American language,” and what he himself called “the American viewpoint.”

There has been a spate of books about the poet who spent the major part of his life in Rutherford, N.J. but, in apparent confirmation of the English review quoted, not by Englishmen. And now an English writer who is a lecturer in American literature at the University of Exeter publishes a book that is not the conventional kind of study—an aloof, logically developed, critical examination of the poet's work—but an almost Williamsesque hop, skip and jump affair that explores the major poem “Paterson” by stressing “the local side of [Williams'] personal, literary, aesthetic, intellectual, and social background.” Mr. Weaver even de-emphasizes the Poundian influence on Williams. Yet, characteristically, his book has as its frontispiece a rare photograph by Richard Avedon of Williams and the writer of the *Cantos*,

taken in Rutherford in July 1958, and showing the latter with chest bared, looking still the literary renegade of his London years.

Weaver's book examines the American scene from the first decade of this century to the fifth through documentation of primary material (some of it hidden in footnotes that are little gems of discovery); through articles from hard-to-find books and magazines; through letters (there is a wonderful quotation from a letter now in the Yale University Library to Williams from Robert Motherwell proposing four ways to “Americanize surrealism”); through tape recordings made by the author of persons acquainted with the poet; through interviews, etc. The documentation tells the story of Williams and America through two World Wars and their aftermath, the excitement over relativity, the Social Credit movement, McCarthyism, the technological transformation that led to megalopolis and its attendant ills—and such artistic movements as Imagism, Objectivism, Precisionist painting, Surrealism, Abstract Expressionism, and projective verse. To understand any one of these movements in their local manifestations apparently no longer requires an American mind, perhaps because the native kind of callous innocence, the ability to stand unmoved in the face of chaos, is infecting the world.

At any rate, Mike Weaver has clearly been infected by Williams himself. As I have suggested, like the poet's own work, *William Carlos Williams: The American Background* is enthusiastic, loosely organized, and filled with statements that beg the question or at least pose questions that are not resolved by their bravado. Let me give two illustrations. On the question of alchemy and Williams: “The way in which the alchemist tried to bring the spirit to light by means of a

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search for materialisation in the laboratory was analogous to Williams' arrangement of phenomena to let in the light of the imagination." On the question of "male" and "female" psychology, in the manner of Otto Weininger, who, according to Weaver, influenced the poet: "With his masculine will Williams believed in hybridisation and mongrelisation as the future of the country, but with his feminine intuition he superstitiously feared the consequences of 'bad blood.'" Weaver's comment follows similar remarks by Alfred Kreyenborg and Robert McAlmon—but made in 1925 and 1923, respectively, not in the era of women's liberation!

Yet Weaver's book is a treasure house of Americana, and of literary revelation. There is, for example, a reproduction of a lyrical, impressionistic oil painting by Williams that suggests a surprising competence—though of course one does not see the paint. It has always been known that Williams knew such painters as Charles Sheeler, Charles Demuth and Marsden Hartley, but Weaver makes a good case for modern painting as an influence on Williams' work. Williams too, it seems, could worry about the direction of the work of his artist friends; his concern that Sheeler was working "too constantly from the photograph" has a contemporary ring.

In a very different way, the chapter entitled "Fantastic America" may explain, although it is hardly meant to, the political Williams who could at the same time be accused of being Communist or Fascist. It is Williams' acceptance of all possibilities, or perhaps his inability to think through his assumptions, that makes more than the poet's political ideas suspect. As a doctor, for example, he saw that disease was normal. As an observer of the local conditions of America (which Waldo Frank is quoted here as calling themselves "dada"), Williams began to see monstrosity as dominant. Weaver misinterprets Williams' remarks in this connection, it seems to me, when he states that to the poet "the monstrous was a measure of the beautiful." In fact, the poet's observation of the abnormal, the freak, made him an admirer of the imagery of the painter Tchelitchew (a fact noted by the author)—but not as surreal imagery, rather as a reflection of the real. Williams did not have the kind of ironic wit that takes human grotesquerie as a sign of cosmic absurdity, despite his association with the surrealists. Instead Williams made statements which may appear to be derived from Dada or surrealism but are too self-righteously Williams to be so interpreted. One such statement which Weaver has discovered

in manuscript is "that the perfect man of action was the suicide." This statement, I suggest, does not arise from Williams' belief in the place of the fantastic in life and in art à la the surrealists but from the same source that led to the poet's occasional sympathy with Pound's political formulations, and with the latter's adherence to the Social Credit movement: intellectual confusion.

Weaver has certainly done very well with what Williams called the "variable foot." The concept, Weaver believes, is related to the poet's interest in the question of time and relativity. Weaver has also clarified some of the abstruse ideas of the Objectivist Zukovsky and shown how such other Objectivists

as Charles Reznikoff are related to the development of the Ashcan school of painting. Social realism, therefore, he points out, had its counterpart in poetry. The Objectivist movement is accordingly connected with the appearance of proletarian themes in American writing rather than with a revamping of a purely literary movement, namely, Imagism. The volume also has two interesting appendices: the first containing a selection from *Passaic* by Thomas Ward (1842), which Williams used as a source for his "Paterson," and the second, intelligent notes on "Paterson" written by Weaver. The book is fun to read. It is of interest to the historian of art or literature, to the sociologist, and of course to the "many Americans" who are Williams enthusiasts. □

After Many a Summer

MAN INTO SUPERMAN. By R. C. W. Ettinger. St. Martin's Press. 312 pp. \$8.95.

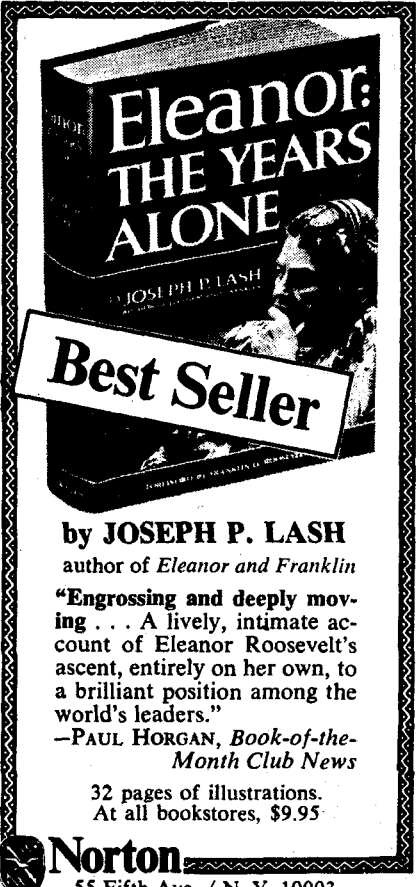
JEROME TUCCILLE

Mr. Tuccille's new book, *Here Comes Immortality* (Stein & Day) will be published later this year.

When Robert Ettinger published *The Prospect of Immortality* in 1964, the very idea of physical immortality seemed little more than science fantasy. It was a page out of the Transylvanian Chronicles of Count Dracula as told to Dr. Frankenstein. Today, a mere eight years later, the subject can be discussed fairly seriously in what passes for "civilized society." Where the idea of physical life eternal once elicited only laughter, it now evokes a wide range of feelings from horror to anticipation—a pretty good indication that the subject is beginning to approach our private visions of reality.

Since Ettinger's first book appeared, a variety of writers have grappled with the question of immortality in one fashion or another. Offhand one can think of Thomas Berger's satiric novel, *Vital Parts*, Alan Harrington's evangelical non-fiction, *The Immortalist*, F. M. Esfandiary's long philosophical essay, *Optimism One*, the Danish novelist Anders Bodelsen's apocalyptic sketch, *Freezing Down*, and Patrick McGrady's tidy piece of journalism, *The Youth Doctors*. In addition, the number of technical articles and scientific papers on the subject, with enough charts, graphs and mathematical formulas to terrify the layman, is now large enough to fill a medium-sized library.

With it all a new word has entered the language: *cryonics*, which, in a nutshell, means the storage of the recently departed in liquid nitrogen for possible resuscitation at a later date. But, while cryonics has captured much of the attention in the popular press, it is really only



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a small inlay in a quickly developing scientific mosaic. As a means toward immortality (the indefinite extension of human life), cryonics is strictly a chance-in-a-million attempt to give those dying today the opportunity for reanimation when the causes of death will have been eliminated. For many the odds, as sorry as they may be, are well worth taking when the alternative is considered: total decomposition in the grave or crematorium. Religion, alas, offers little comfort to the infidel.

If cryonics, then, is merely a holding action, the real key to the immortalist society of the future is the retardation and eventual reversal of the aging process itself. Immortality will be a mixed blessing indeed if we only succeed in prolonging senility. For this reason, the Upjohn pharmaceutical company has invested a considerable sum in the talents of a Finnish biochemist, Johan Bjorksten, in the hope of developing an anti-aging drug, and recent reports say he will have something ready for them to market by the end of this decade. Other independent but related experiments are also progressing with varying degrees of success. It is symbolic of the age we live in that the long sought-for Fountain of Youth may finally come to us in the form of yet another pill.

While biochemists are busy searching for eternal youth in their test tubes, others are beating different paths toward the same goal. The Russians have discovered that hibernation has rejuvenating effects on dogs, and an American doctor is now applying these findings to elderly patients in Louisiana. There is much talk about the correlation between lower gravity fields (and weightlessness) and a slower aging process, the benefits of proper diet, the creation of cyborgs (the transplanting of more durable synthetic organs into the human body), cloning (the replication of life forms through ectogenesis), and also talk of biofeedback, which some critics say is not much more than the old power of positive thinking dressed up in counter-culture clothing—Norman Vincent Peale trotting about in Timothy Leary's glad rags.

Considering all that has transpired in this field during the past few years, one turns to Robert Ettinger's latest effort with some trepidation. What new tidbits has the cryonics pioneer dished up for us? And that title! *Man Into Superman*. Has he really hit on something startling with this Nietzschean broadside? At the very least one expects a comprehensive review of the state of the art offering a glimmer of hope for would-be immortals at a time when a single politician can rain death on an entire society one day,

and pray with Billy Graham in the White House the next.

Unfortunately, Ettinger is not equal to the task in this poorly written, badly organized book. The first few chapters are devoted to the author's personal vision of what humankind will someday be, and his vision is not very attractive. He talks glibly about restructuring man genetically so that defecation will be eliminated, temperature extremes will have little or no effect on the body, underwater breathing will be accomplished without artificial aids, the average I.Q. will be pushed to astronomical levels by today's standards, the unique abilities of other animals—such as infrared vision and high-frequency hearing—will be part of our genetic inheritance, and our sexual gropings of the present will be replaced by a sexual electric circus beyond our wildest fantasies. He also entertains such bizarre concepts as that of giant superminds strewn across the universe. Ettinger seems to have raided the writings of science-fiction authors for their more imaginative speculations, and served them up here in a potpourri of pseudo-scientific prognostications. At one point he suddenly realizes that all this genetic manipulation he proposes is beginning to sound a bit Skinnerian, and he offers a quick but unsatisfactory disclaimer. His goal is not to make everyone conform to a superhuman norm but rather to maximize everyone's possibilities for happiness and intellectual attainments. Perhaps. But he is just too enamored of genetic engineering for comfort—for my comfort at least.

Ettinger's best chapters are the ones dealing directly with immortality. He claims that physical immortality will lead to a decline in general violence, an increase in human dignity and self-esteem, cultural pluralism and greater diversity in styles of living, more attention to safety measures in work and in games, and an increase in personal freedom to the point of anarchy. Scattered throughout the rough tangle of his prose are occasional flashes: "The young today . . . tend to value themselves too little and the world too much"; "the human race has always been psychotic, but now it is time to go sane and face reality"; "the only way to avoid disaster is to go looking for it [before it catches us unawares]." Perhaps the brightest gleam of all is the author's dissection of that nonpareil political, religious and cultural conservative Russell Kirk. Somewhere along the line Kirk anathematized the idea of physical immortality. The immortalists, according to Kirk, want to dehumanize the human race. Unruffled, Ettinger challenges Kirk on his own logical ground and accuses him of cherishing

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*What if the cars stopped
running motors
all over the world
the wheels stopped
turning as if
they had never been
discovered we walked
slowly finding
our feet our legs
as far as we could
go land's end
the edge of the ocean
up to our lips
and found each moving
part of ourselves
our lives again
at the beginning
coming out of that
wet our skin still
shining with water
and our breath.*

Shirley Kaufman

"weakness, vice, suffering and stupidity because without them we would be 'dehumanized.'" All in all, a tidy exchange.

Aside from style and organization, the greatest weakness of *Man Into Superman* is one it shares with all other books dealing with immortality: it fails to even touch on the social consequences of extending the human life span. Such sticky problems as overpopulation, pollution, loss of faith (who needs harps and angels when the hereafter is now?), family structure (is a woman a widow or not if her husband opts for the deep freeze?), legal definitions of death (is a suspended human being "dead" or not?), pension and Social Security payments (which may continue indefinitely), mandatory retirement (when biological age has become meaningless), and boredom will all assume new dimensions in an immortalist society. Ettinger does ask whether or not immortality might pose some danger to society, but concludes that no one can answer this question yet. He hopes that common sense and prudence will prevail in the future.

But that is not good enough. Some of the more conservative experts predict that the average life span will be increased between 20 and 50 per cent by the end of this century. More daring scientists think we are on the verge of achieving an average life expectancy of 120 and beyond. If we are close to a significant advance in anti-aging research, as some of the evidence seems to indicate, then it is time we tried to anticipate these problems before they overwhelm us. □

Theatre in a Time of Violence

JAMES V. HATCH

Mr. Hatch is an assistant professor of English at The City College of New York. This summer he made his second trip to India in four years.

Calcutta

Crisis is the normal state of Utpal Dutta's artistic political life.* When I arrived in Calcutta three years ago to review his play *Teer* (*Arrow*) for *The Nation* [issue of June 23, 1969] the People's Little Theatre had suspended him for accepting a commercial film role in Bombay. This time, when I arrived to view his new play *Tiner Talwar* (*Tin Sword*), he and his company were being thrown out of the State Theatre, the Rabindra Sadan, for political-artistic reasons.

Dutta is the writer, director and star of *Tin Sword*, a comic opera based on historical fact about a group of 19th-century theatre vagabonds who willfully defy the British censorship acts of 1876 to stage a patriotic Bengali play. Mr. Dutta plays the company's bankrupt, scheming actor-manager who keeps his group alive by playing a pastiche of Shakespeare's great scenes, woven together with comic improbability; but mostly this actor-manager stays afloat through the financial aid of patrons who are more interested in his actresses than in his art. In the last scene the actor-manager, carried away by his own histrionic nature, performs the patriotic play which will destroy his livelihood; however, it's a performance which transmutes the tin sword into one of steel, as the street people rise up in a Brechtian chorus to support the theatre's first attempt to deal with their reality.

But the curtain did not descend at the end of the performance. A microphone was brought on stage to Mr. Dutta, who told a capacity audience that, after sixty performances, the state board that operates the Rabindra Sadan had forbidden further use of the auditorium to the People's Little Theatre. The reasons for the eviction were cloudy, but among them was the charge of obscenity. (It seems that a street girl in the play uses language natural to her environment, a language heard outside the theatre but not in it.) Mr. Dutta appealed to his audience to protest this ironic act of censorship in removing a play that protested censorship. The audience sat stunned. Then Mr. Tapas Sen, the lighting designer, leaped to the stage to point out that all the house seats reserved for

*Utpal Dutta is known to American filmgoers for his leading roles in James Ivory's *Shakespeare Wallah* and *The Guru*.

the state board were filled by wives and friends of the board, who knew this was their last opportunity to see the "obscene" *Tin Sword*. A great howl went up from the audience. The actors raised their fists in unity and the curtain was drawn, as Mr. Sen explained later, to avoid violence. I arranged to meet Mr. Dutta.

I was eager to discover what changes had taken place since I had met him and seen his powerful anti-Fascist plays *Teer* and *Invincible Vietnam* in 1969. I had assured myself that he was still a most talented actor; I have never seen an actor whose physical stature so sharply changes before one's eyes. Is he short? Tall? Fat? Thin? Shy or loud? He's a regular magician of a man. In his *Tin Sword* performance he was able to touch the true passion of Shakespeare's heroes. Macbeth, Othello lived for an instant; then in the next, Mr. Dutta had exaggerated them slightly in the manner of the 19th-century ham that he was portraying.

I also knew that Dutta had completely reorganized the Little Theatre Group into the People's Little Theatre keeping only his wife, Shova, a lovely actress, and Sen, the lighting genius of Indian theatre. (Sen deserves a separate review for his passionate improvisational use of handheld instruments.) I knew too that Dutta had separated himself from the Naxalite movement that he espoused so beautifully on stage in 1969. He remembered me. "Because of your review, I received letters from citizens of your country telling me that if I did not refrain from abusing America on stage, they would stop sending wheat to India." He smiled. "I eat rice."

What had he been doing in the last three years? He had spent two years in Bengali villages exploring the *jatra*, a traditional folk form of theatre. He had finished his monumental work on social consciousness in Shakespeare, soon to be published in England. He had performed in films, but what he was most eager to relate was his adaptation of the incident of the Scottsboro Boys to the Bengali stage.

"We had a terrible time duplicating an American Southern town," he recalled, "and your clothing, your jeans, are impossible for us."

"Why did you bother?"

"Oh a Calcutta audience demands it. They've seen countless American films. They know exactly what you look like."

I asked why he had chosen an American racial subject from the 1930s. He seemed perplexed by my question. "It's

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not an exotic subject for us. We know all about racial oppression—yours," and he held out his brown arms, "and ours." He let me escape my WASP guilt by changing the subject: "How'd you like our new play?"

I told him that I did; yet something gnawed in me. I realize now that I had in some way been disappointed in the *Tin Sword*. Not the acting, not the production, not the audience furore, but in the knowledge that the play was safe in a way that *Teer* and *Invincible Vietnam* had been outrageously dangerous. They were dangerous artistically, taking on blatant propaganda and making exciting drama; they were dangerous politically, espousing the Naxalite cause, the seizing of land through violence—a method supported by Mao and the Chinese Communists. The plays were dangerous intellectually, for they made the connections between rich landowners in Bengal, the Congress Party and the Americans in Vietnam. However, many things had happened in three years.

The coalition Communist government had broken down in Bengal and been replaced by President's rule. The Congress Party has since won the election and brought "law and order" to the state. This "law and order" came about after an estimated 1,000 to 2,000 killings had occurred. Most intellectuals, whatever their point of view, admit that these killings were done by many people and for a wide variety of reasons: political, criminal and even accidental; however, the conservatives manage to lay the blame upon the Naxalites who advocated seizing power through violence. **Charu Majumdar**, leader of the movement, has been arrested, another revolution averted, the conservatives say.

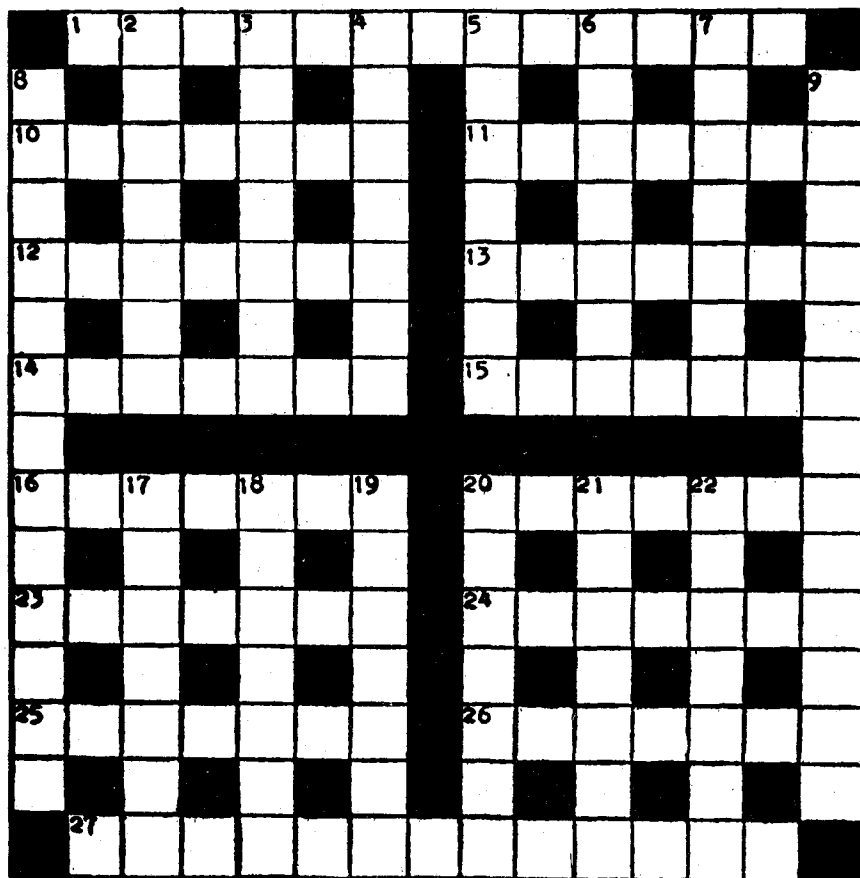
Many intellectuals left the Communist Party during this period of violence; some even left Bengal. The Little Theatre Group broke up, and when it reorganized, the group was no longer in its ratty Minerva Theatre, with its balcony closed because it was structurally unsound; they were in the State Theatre.

In November of 1970 Mr. Dutta told an interviewer, "A play may take off from any issue involving partial demands but must arrive finally at a call for armed overthrow of reactionary state power. It's not enough to have a rifle in one's hand—one must know how to fire it and must hate the enemy enough to fire it."

Dutta's problem is that of all committed artists, of all men with great hearts. What do we do when the mock killings on stage become real killings in the street? Maybe we produce less passionate plays—for a while. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1453

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 One might be necessary to enter and go through a conflict and talk so wild! (6,7)
- 10 Was such as 15 something like health? (7)
- 11 What might go on top, spoken of tobacco. (7)
- 12 Sought by a climber or wrestler? (7)
- 13 see 18 down
- 14 In fairness, sharpen the pen! (7)
- 15 Next above the royal. (7)
- 16 Sort of 10, aged and proven nonexistent. (7)
- 20 One might be a good conductor, as most are. (7)
- 23 Where to find people of a particular religious faith and grasshoppers, for example. (7)
- 24 They might show duty, in turn. (7)
- 25 Gives power, in being given a blessing. (7)
- 26 Old-fashioned cocktail for a foreign statesman? (7)
- 27 Against coming down to be patronizing this? (13)

DOWN

- 2 Oriental flower with a point above and below. (7)
- 3 Thinks out a problem concerning an off-spring's makeup. (7)

- 4 Most people aren't used to working on one. (7)
- 5 In case it's dropsy? (7)
- 6 Very fast talk, as they now say, to no purpose? (7)
- 7 Passionless peace. (7)
- 8 One might, with a rebuilt motor to push other cars around. (6,7)
- 9 More formally, a conceivably spooky time. (10,3)
- 17 Men of ill repute go a step in the wrong way. (7)
- 18 and 13 across Reads like the coroner's statement concerning spotted fever, pleased with the whole thing. (7,2,5)
- 19 Stops taking the wrong side, with such little ways to finish. (7)
- 20 Prosper as an author? (7)
- 21 Put in storage. (7)
- 22 With the house payment not being raised around it, no wonder there was a battle! (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1452

ACROSS: 1 Accordance; 6 Scat; 10 Doubt-er; 11 Obtrude; 12 Omsk; 13 Concertina; 15 In short; 16 Scherzo; 17 Unreels; 20 Con- vict; 22 Ledger line; 23 Here; 25 In order; 26 Electra; 27 Sold; 28 Postal card. DOWN: 1 Audio-visual aids; 2 Courses; 3 Rite; 4 Airport; 5 Choices; 7 Courier; 8 The lay of the land; 9 Storthing; 14 Foreheads; 18 Red- poll; 19 Salerno; 21 Inertia; 24 and 20 Well content.

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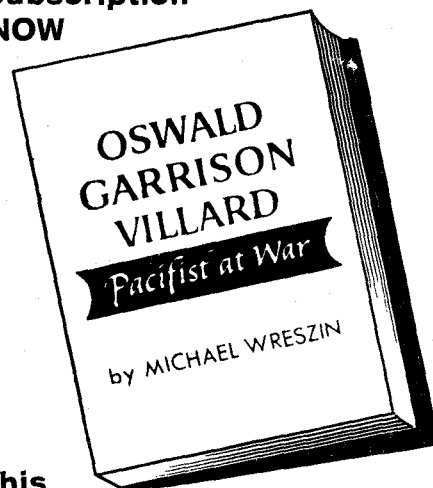
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